

# **HISTORY OF BALASORE 1751-1947**

THESIS SUBMITTED  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY  
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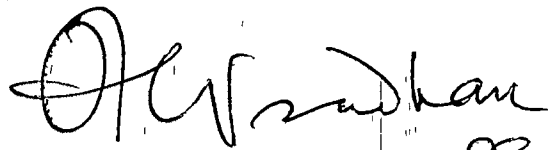
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### PREFACE

In recent years researchers have carried on investigations into the various aspects of Orissan history, pertaining to the various periods. Through their diligent efforts the overall history of Orissa has been very ably constructed. Notwithstanding, the micro-level study of the different regions of Orissa, i.e. the districts and former princely states (which were integrated into the province of Orissa in 1948) still remain a desideratum. Each region played its characteristic role during the course of history and, therefore, deserves special attention. In this thesis a modest attempt has been made to highlight the political, administrative, social and economic history of the Balasore district from 1751 to 1947, i.e. from the establishment of Maratha rule in Orissa to the independence of India.

The town of Balasore, situated on the mouth of the river Budhabalang and on the shore of the Bay of Bengal was one of the earliest settlements of the European traders. Because of its geographical contiguity to Bengal, Balasore became deeply involved in the conflict between the Nawab of Bengal and the Marathas.

Balasore was one of the three districts of Orissa proper, occupied by the British from the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1803. At the time of British occupation, Balasore had a prosperous salt industry which was later on irretrievably ruined by the British policy. In the later half of the nineteenth century, Balasore played a significant role in the Orissan resurgence. In the first half of the twentieth century the people of Balasore took active parts in the nationalist movement, particularly in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 and the Quit India Movement of 1942.

The general works on Orissan history, such as A. Stirling's An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper or Cuttack (which was published in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV in 1825), G. Toynbee's History of Orissa (published in 1828), W.W. Hunter's Orissa, 2 volumes (published in London in 1872), C.E. Buckland's Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors, 2 Vols., (Calcutta, 1902), R.D. Bannerji's History of Orissa, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1930-31), H.K. Mahtab's History of Orissa, Vol. II (Cuttack, 1960), and Prabhat Mukherji's History of Orissa, Vol. VI (Cuttack, 1964) cursorily deal with some aspects of the political and administrative history of the Balasore district. In 1906, in the Balasore District Gazetteer, L.S.S. O'Malley made an attempt to write the history of Balasore district. But this district gazetteer only gives a brief political history of the district from the earliest times to the constitution of Balasore into an independent Collectorate under H. Ricketts in 1827, and



gives a detailed treatment of the economic life of the people. In recent years, a number of published research works, most of which are doctoral dissertations have thrown new light on certain aspects of the history of the Balasore district. B.C. Ray's Orissa Under Marathas (1751-1803) (Allahabad, 1960) deals with the conflicts of interest between the English and Marathas in the Balasore district and the involvement of local zamindars in those conflicts as well as salt manufacture and salt trade at Balasore. K.M. Patra's Orissa Under East India Company (New Delhi, 1971) incidentally deals with the problems of land revenue administration, problems of law and order and administration of justice and British salt policy in the Balasore district from the occupation of Orissa by the British in 1803 to the end of East India Company's rule in 1857. J.K. Samal's Orissa Under the British Crown (1858-1905) (New Delhi, 1977) contains references to those aspects of the history of the Balasore district, in addition to the famine of 1866 and growth of education. Binod Shankar Das's Studies in the Economic History Orissa, (Calcutta, 1978) throws light on the economic life of the people of the district in the Maratha and early British period with particular reference to trade and manufacture of textiles and salt. Sadananda Choudhury's Economic History of Colonialism, (New Delhi, 1979) deals with salt manufacture and salt trade in the Balasore district during the entire period of British rule in some details. C.C. Patra's Formation of the Province of Orissa, (Calcutta, 1979) and Nivedita Mohanty's Orisa Nationalism: Quest for a United Orissa, (New Delhi, 1982) incidentally refer to the growth of

Oriya nationalism in the Balasore district. The history of the Freedom Movement in Orissa, five volumes (Cuttack, 1957), edited by H.K. Mahtab and Purushottam Kar's Indian National Congress and Orissa (Cuttack, 1987) deal with the freedom movement in the Balasore district in some details. But both these works have not used the A.I.C.C. files, which is in fact an important source material for the history of freedom movement.

In view of the historical factors, already mentioned and the availability of sufficient source material, a micro-level study of the history of the Balasore district has been attempted in this thesis. The thesis is based on primary and secondary source material collected from Balasore Collectorate record room and library, Balasore Municipality Record Room, Major Settlement Office Balasore, Balasore District Library, Public Reading Room, Balasore, Brahma Samaj Library, Balasore, Library of the Raja Family Balasore, Balasore Zilla School library, Fakir Mohan College Library, Balasore, Barabati Girls' School Library, Balasore, Mission Girls' High School Library, Balasore, Fakir Mohan Museum and Library Balasore, Orissa State Archives, Orissa State Museum, Secretariat Library, Utkal University Library, Bhubaneswar, Kanika Library, Cuttack, National Library, Calcutta and National Archives of India and Nehru Memorial Museum, New Delhi.

Interviews with late Nilambar Das, late Nanda Kishore Das, late Laxman Ch. Kamila, Bhairab Chandra Mohapatra, late Murallidhar Panda, Kamalakanta Kar, Bholanath Dash, Rabindra Mohan Das, Priyanath Sarkar, Trilochan Senapati, Bijay Kumar Giri, Bibekananda

Mohanty and others have also proved useful for writing the history of the district.

The thesis has been divided into five Chapters. The introductory Chapter throws light on the various phases of early history of Balasore i.e. ancient Hindu period, Afghan and Moghul period and the beginning of European trading activities.

The second Chapter deals with Maratha administration in Balasore. This chapter throws light on the conflict between the Marathas and the Nawab of Bengal, the triangular conflict among the Marathas, Raja of Mayurbhanja and East India Company and the character of Maratha administration in Balasore.

The third Chapter narrates how the British occupied Balasore in 1803 and consolidated their administration thereafter and how the people of Balasore were affected by the British policies.

The fourth Chapter shows how the economic life of the people of the Balasore district was affected by the devastating famine of 1866.

The fifth Chapter highlights the role of Balasore in the Orissan resurgence of the later half of the nineteenth century. It deals with the growth of education and press, Brahmo movement, growth of socio-political consciousness, language controversy, Oriya-Bengali conflict and growth of Oriya nationalism in the district.

The sixth Chapter deals with the role of the people of Balasore in the nationalist movement. It shows how the district came to lime light in the national level because of its people's active involvement in the freedom struggle.

The concluding Chapter makes a brief survey and analysis of the whole thesis.

This thesis which was earlier submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the Utkal University is being resubmitted for the same purpose after a revision in the light of valuable suggestions, given by Prof. Hermann Kulke. Accordingly, the British salt policy in the later phase of the British rule has been added and the role of Balasore district in the Oriya Movement has been critically evaluated. The author is grateful to Prof. Kulke for his valuable suggestions.

I take this opportunity to express a deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. A.C. Pradhan, Reader, P.G. Department of History, Vani Vihar, Utkal University, under whose amiable guidance this piece of work has been completed.

I am also highly obliged to Prof. Karunasagar Behera, Professor and Head, P.G. Department of History, Vani Vihar, Utkal University, who has constantly inspired me and enlightened me on several aspects of this work.

It is with a special sense of gratitude that I acknowledge the help and inspiration, given by late Prof. U.K. Sahu, former Vice-Chancellor of the Sambalpur University under whose able supervision this work was initially undertaken.

Lastly, I am also grateful to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, whose financial assistance enabled me to complete this work.

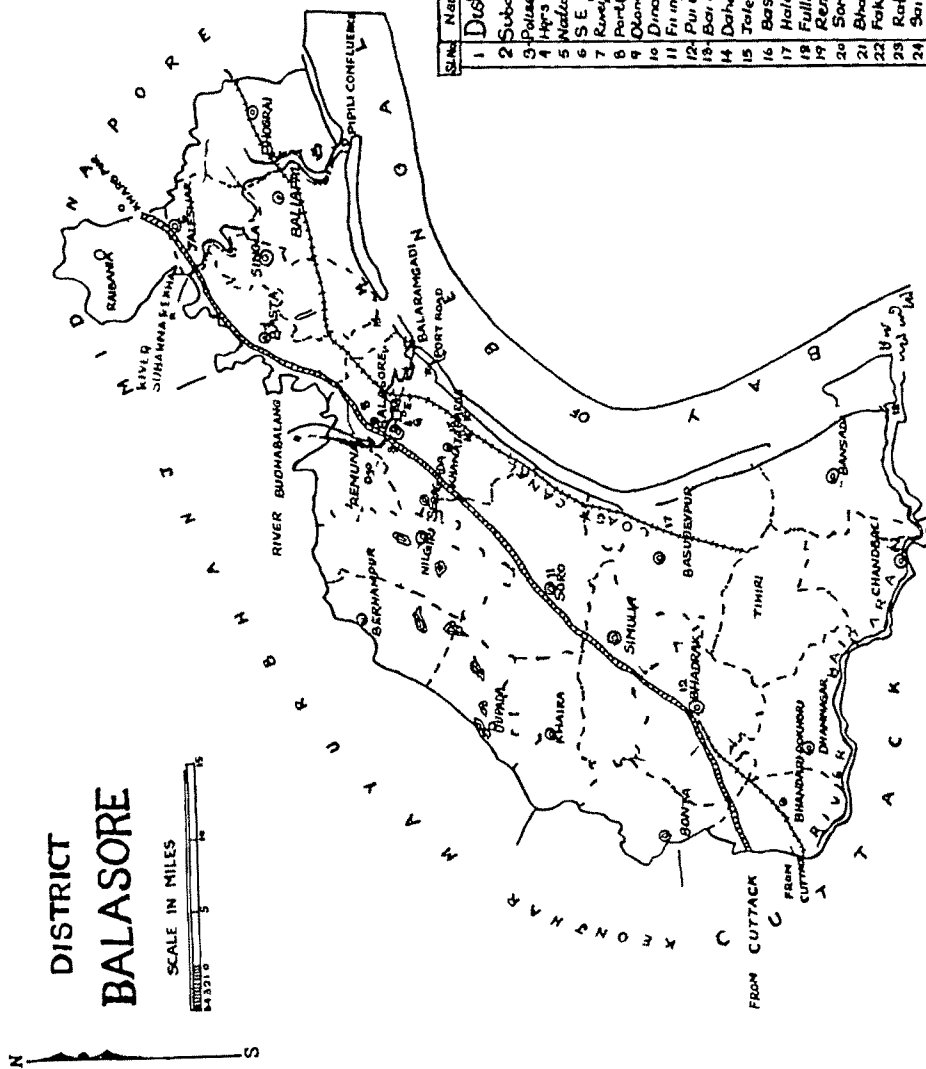
Sudhakar Mohapatra.  
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Hilamani Ishavidyalaya  
Rupsa

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### ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee.
B.C.H.R.	Balasore Custom House Records.
B.J.P.	Bengal Judicial Proceedings.
B.J.(C)P.	Bengal Judicial (Civil) Proceedings.
B.J.(Cr.)P.	Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Proceedings.
B.P.P.	Bengal Past and Present.
B.S.R.	Balasore Salt Records.
B.R.R.	Board of Revenue Records.
B.S.C.P.	Bengal Select Committee Proceedings.
C.P.C.	Calendar of Persian Correspondence.
C.S.R.	Cuttack Salt Records.
D.S.M.	Diary of Streyansham Master.
E.F.I.	English Factories in India.
F.N.	Foot Note.
H.D.P.P.	Home Department Public Proceedings.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
O.H.R.J.	Orissa Historical Research Journal.
O.S.A.	Orissa State Archives.
P.B.R.	Proceedings of Board of Revenue.
P.B.C.S.O.	Proceedings of Board of Customs, Salt & Opium.
P.I.Report	General Report on Public Instruction.
R.A.O	Annual General Administrative Report of the Orissa Division.
R.C.F.	Report of the Commissioner appointed to enquire into famine in Bihar and Orissa.
V.W.C.C.	Whose Who Compilation Committee.



# DISTRICT BALASORE

SCALE IN MILES  
0 5 10  
MILES

## SYMBOLS & ABBREVIATIONS

Sl. No.	Name of the place	Indicating Symbols & Numbers
1	District Boundary	— — — — —
2	Subdivision Boundary	— — — — —
3	Police station Boundary	— — — — —
4	Highways of district, sub-division & P.S.	— — — — —
5	National Highway & other roads	— — — — —
6	SE Railway	— — — — —
7	Railway	— — — — —
8	Port (Balasore to Balasore)	— — — — —
9	Qandaz Sahi	— — — — —
10	Dinamardinga	— — — — —
11	Fu ingpatina	— — — — —
12	Puruna Balasore (French Enclave)	— — — — —
13	Barabati Kharai Khana	— — — — —
14	Dahamunda to Pipili, Muhuna (Confluence)	— — — — —
15	Talapatra	— — — — —
16	Basta	— — — — —
17	Halidipada	— — — — —
18	Fullwari Kharai	— — — — —
19	Remuna	— — — — —
20	Sara	— — — — —
21	Bhandrak	— — — — —
22	Faku mohans House	— — — — —
23	Rater	— — — — —
24	Saraha	— — — — —
25	Srijung	— — — — —
26	Enchundi	— — — — —
27	Er am	— — — — —
28	Port Road -	— — — — —
29	Salt Road -	— — — — —
30	Dhamra Port	— — — — —
31	Palhar bali Babubali Sankarna bali	— — — — —
	Adobelli & Bati ghar	— — — — —



### INTRODUCTION

At present, Balasore is the north eastern district in the eastern province, Orissa situated on the shore or Bay of Bengal. It is situated between 20°-43"N and 21°-59"N latitudes and 86°-16" and 87°-25" east longitudes.<sup>1</sup>

According to the 1901 Census survey, its total area is 2085 square miles. It is the smallest of the thirteen districts of the Orissa province.

The district of Balasore is bounded by the Midnapore district of West Bengal and the Mayurbhanj district of Orissa on the north, by the Bay of Bengal in the East, Cuttack district on the south separated by Bitarani river and by the hilly district of Keonjhar on the west.

#### Name of 'Balasore':

The name 'Balasore' appears to have mythological significance. I.S.S.O'Malley writes: "the name Balasore has been explained as being a corruption of Belesuar i.e., the young

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<sup>1</sup> District Statistical Hand-Book Balasore 1930-1931, p.1; I.S.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer Balasore, 1907, p.1.

Lord Krishna<sup>2</sup> or of Banasura meaning the demon of the forest who was worshipping Lord Baneswar (Siva)". Probably Daneswar temple in old Balasore<sup>3</sup> situated on the bank of river Bura-balang, was established by Banasura.

Balasore came into prominence during the Mughal rule. In Persian terminology, it was spelt 'Bala-Saheer' which means big town. Some scholars have interpreted it as 'Bala-e-Sore'<sup>4</sup> meaning 'a town on sea-shore'. Thus Bruton, the European traveller who visited Balasore in 1633 observed Balasore thus: "Governor of a town called Bolla Sorye, a sea town where shipping was built", "a great sea-town" whereto much shipping belonged and many ships and other vessels built".<sup>5</sup>

#### Geography:

Geographically the district of Balasore can be divided into three zones - (1) the salt soil along the coast, (2) the arable tract or rice fields and (3) jungle land. In some parts the soil of Balasore is fertile due to the silt carried mainly by the rivers Subarnarekha and Durabalanga. There are other smaller distributary rivers in the district such as Panchapara, Sartha, Janka, Salandi, Rebo, Kapali, Kansbans, Gamai, Hanskura, Paga, Nembu, Dhanra. River Baitarani flows on the border between the Balasore and Cuttack districts.

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<sup>2</sup>L.S.S. O'Malley, District Gazetteer Balasore, p.288.

<sup>3</sup>3 kms. from town.

<sup>4</sup>Mahtab., History of Orissa, Vol.II, p.387.

<sup>5</sup>O'Malley, op. cit., p.290.

Like the whole of Orissa, Balasore enjoys three seasons in a year such as winter, summer and rainy season.<sup>6</sup>

Crops and Food products:

The main crop of the district is paddy. Three types of paddy are yielded in the district - (1) Biali (cultivated from May to September), (2) Sarada (cultivated from May to January), (3) Dalua or spring rice (cultivated from December to April).<sup>7</sup> The Sarada variety of paddy is produced in more than 75 per cent of total arable land.

Besides rice, other crops such as muga, birl, kulcha, chana, arhar, maize and wheat are also produced in different parts of the district. Moreover, mustard, rapseed, Til or gingelly and linseed are also grown. Sugarcane is grown in Balliapal, Dhamnagar, Remuna and other riverside areas of the district. Betel is grown in Balliapal and Bhograi abundantly. Tobacco is also grown in many parts of the district. Brinjal, Saru or cladium, onions and melons etc. are grown in large quantities in the district.

Mangoes, banana, jack, tamarind, bel, Indian plum, custard apple, papaya and cashewnuts are also grown.

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<sup>6</sup> L.S.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer Balasore, p.26.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124-31.

Population:

The Table below gives an overall demographic picture of the Balasore district according to the Census of 1971:

TABLE

	Total	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
Grand total	18,30,504	9,28,342	9,02,162
Rural	17,30,350	8,74,155	8,56,195
Urban	1,00,154	54,187	45,967
Buddhist in total		9	2
Rural		-	-
Urban		9	2
Christian in total		1,291	746
Rural		715	745
Urban		576	605
Hindu in total		8,92,215	8,66,436
Rural		8,51,479	8,33,021
Urban		48,736	33,415
Muslim in total		34,660	34,276
Rural		21,902	22,427
Urban		12,758	11,349

1	2	3	4
Jains in total	76	64	
Rural	4	-	
Urban	72	64	
Sikhs in total	44	37	
Rural	12	-	
Urban	32	37	
Others in total	46	5	
Rural	43	2	
Urban	3	3	
No religion in total	1	2	
Rural	-	-	
Urban	1	2 (8)	

Balasore is a district of predominantly Hindu population with sprinklings of Muslims and Christians. The Hindu population of Balasore can be divided into three groups - Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Hindu caste include Brahmins, Khatris, Khandoyats, Rajas, Su/Jras, washermen, Black-smiths and Gold-smiths etc. The total population of Scheduled Caste in the district is 4,04,137. Out of which 3,26,927 live in rural areas and 17,270 live in urban areas.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup>1971 Census, Part-II.3(1), pp.104-105.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

The total population of Scheduled Tribes living in Balasore district is 1,54,153. Out of them 1,44,506 live in villages and 9,647 live in urban areas.

Early History of Balasore:

Copper plates discovered in Badkhuri near Soro, dated in Samvat 260 indicate that Maharaja Sambuyasa of Mudgala family was ruling in northern Tosali<sup>10</sup> in 579-80 A.D. Soro was perhaps the administrative headquarters of <sup>4</sup>Mughal dynasty in northern Tosali in 6th-7th Century A.D. Sarapha in Uttar Tosali has been identified with Soro town.

Jayrampur Copper plates of Bhograi show that the northern part of the district of Balasore was ruled by Gopachandra in about the 6th Century A.D.<sup>11</sup>

Two Copper plates grants issued in 13th and 14th regnal year of Naya Paladeva in 10th Century A.D., were discovered at 'Irda' and Kalma in north Balasore respectively.<sup>12</sup> The village 'Remuna (Romuna is derived from the word 'Ramaniya' meaning, nice) in the vicinity of Balasore town is another ancient place in the district. It came into prominence during the reign of Ganga King Narasingha Deva-I, who probably brought the image of Lord Gopinath from Chitrakuta and installed here. It was a strong military base and a seat of administration during Narasingha Deva-I who twice marched through Balasore to attack Bengal.

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<sup>10</sup> EL. XI, pp. 197-202.

<sup>11</sup> OHRJ., XII, pp. 1-4.

<sup>12</sup> E.L., Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff and OHRJ., Vol. XVI, No. 4 to Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp. 111-15.

While staying at Remuna in 1295 A.D. for military preparations, Narasingha Deva-I issued the Konduapota and Allalpur Copper Plates. Probably he built the famous fort of Raibania<sup>13</sup> as the military base to fight against the enemies from Bengal. Later on in 1568, this fort was captured by Generals of Suleiman Karrani.<sup>14</sup>

Besides Raibania fort, Narasingha Deva-I raised a chain of forts at Tamluk, Anarda, Jaleswar and Bhadrak to resist the enemy's invasion. The most remarkable religious development of Suryavansi rule in Orissa was the coming of Chaitnya, the apostle of Vaishnavism from Bengal. He came to Orissa in 1510 during the reign of Prataparudra. During his religious journey from Nadia to Puri, he passed through the Balasore district. While chanting God's name through 'Kirtan Music' he reached Balasore border and visited Jaleswar temple.<sup>15</sup> On the way he visited the Gopinath Temple of Basta and the Gopinath Temple (the deity of which is famous as Khirachora Gopinath) at Remuna. Thereafter, he visited Sidheswar Siva at Soro and temples at Bhadrak. It is said that his father Jagannath Mishra belonged to Jajpur of Orissa. His pious life exercised a good deal of influence on the people of Balasore in medieval period.

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<sup>13</sup> L.S.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer Balasore, p.317, Raibania is near Jaleswar.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Prabhat Mukherjee, History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa, p.296.

### Mughal Afghan Contest:

During the reign of Mukunda Dev, the last Hindu king of Orissa, Balasore became a battle-ground between the Afghans and Mukunda Dev. Suleiman Kairani, the Afghan Sultan of Bengal attacked Orissa in 1568.<sup>16</sup>

Suleiman divided the turbulent Afghan army into two halves - the first was led by himself and the second by Bayazid, his son. Through the highlands of Mayurbhanj, Bayazid's army entered the coastal belt of Balasore. Ram Chandra Bhanj, the Chief of Sarang Garh fought with Mukunda Dev in a battle at Gohira Tikiri<sup>17</sup> in the district of Balasore. Mukunda Dev was killed. It was the battle-field of Gohira Tikiri that witnessed the sunset of the independent Hindu kingdom of Orissa. After Bayazid, Daud, the second son of Suleiman succeeded to the throne of Bengal. The mughal Emperor Akber despatched Raja Todarmal<sup>18</sup> against Daud. Daud fled to Orissa. In Orissa he carried on his activities between Jaleswar and Cuttack.

During the rule of two Afghans such as Daud and Kutlu Khan, Midnapore district of present day West Bengal formed a part of Jaleswar Sarkar of Orissa. It also remained a part of Orissa Subah under the mughals for a long time. But Jaleswar Sarkar and Hill part of Orissa were annexed to Bengal during Shah Jahan's rule.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Wabin Ku. Sahu., A History of Orissa, p.296.

<sup>17</sup>In P.S. of Bhadrak Sub-division.

<sup>18</sup>L.S.C.O'Malley, District Gazetteer, 1907.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p.185.



### Battle of Tukoral or Mughalmari:

Both Munim Khan and Todarmal, Generals of Akbar confronted Daud near Tukoral<sup>20</sup>, six miles west of Jaleswar on the bank of Suvarnarckha. The grim battle took place on 3 March 1575. The Afghans had 200 elephants. The mughals were equipped with cannons. Mughal General Khan-i-Khanan and Munim Khan were wounded. Daud lost the battle and returned to Cuttack. Todarmal pursued him up to Kalkalghati.<sup>21</sup> Munim Khan appointed Murad Khan and Nazar Bahadur as two Thanadars of Jaleswar and Bhadrak respectively and this portion was annexed to the Subah of Bengal.<sup>22</sup>

### Taqsin Janna:

During Akbar's rule, the Mughal revenue minister Todarmal introduced a settlement of the crown lands, founded on a measurement and valuation called "Taqsin Janna and Tankhwa Naami", a settlement in respect of the amount of the regular land rent and the mode of obtaining a revenue from the country. He undertook a thorough survey of the entire province and introduced a standard rod of twelve spans (Baradasti-Padika) as the yardstick for all local measurements. Tadar Mal's settlement was carried out in three northern Sarkar or divisions such as Jaleswar, Bhadrak and Cuttack.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Blochman has identified Tukoral with the village of Mugholmari (slaughter of Mughals) situated near Jaleswar; History of Portuguese in Bengal, p.42.

<sup>21</sup> Abul Fazl identifies it with Bhadrak; L.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.47.

<sup>22</sup> L.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer, Palasore, p.47.

<sup>23</sup> Stirling and Peggs., Orissa, p.12.

In 1592, the Mughal General Mansingh had an encounter with the Afghans of Jaleswar.<sup>24</sup> He defeated the latter and brought under control the places around it. In 1598 in absence of Mansingh, Osman Khan, defeated the Mughal soldiers at Bhadrak and occupied territories up to the river Suvarnarekha. Mansingh again came with an army of 20,000 horses and encamped on the bank of Suvarnarekha for second time. Fight took place near Rajghat and the Afghan General, Osman Khan was slain. This was the final defeat of the Afghans.<sup>25</sup>

Descendants of Afghan - Mughal Officials in Balasore:

Even after the lapse of three centuries, today the descendants of Sulaiman's followers who settled down at Kasba<sup>26</sup>, Pathan Mahalla, Khaliassi Mahalla, Nurpur, Azimabad, Bairamagar in town and Bhadrak and Dhannagar, speak of their genealogy.

O'Malley writes that Hitan Khan, an Afghan General was buried at Gharpada after his death here in the battle. The Bhuyon family in Rupsa used to enjoy rent-free (138 acres) land to look after his tomb.<sup>27</sup>

Shah Husari and other Generals like Muhammad Khan Sanic were also buried at Ramchandrapur near Haldirada, 15 kilometres from Balasore.

Ghulam Shah the fourth one was buried at Pemana, 4 kms. from Balasore where a big market, called 'Shahajipatra' named

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<sup>24</sup> H.K. Mahatab., History of Orissa, Vol.II, p.382.

<sup>25</sup> L.S.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.48.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 46, 288.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.306.

after him, had grown up and commemorates the name till date. These names and places in the district testify to their arrival and settlement in Balasore.

There is a place called Mansingh Bazar at the outskirts of Balasore town. This place appears to have been named after the Mughal General Mansingh. The surnames such as Mel, Mansingh and Rana which are found in the Balasore district indicates that some Rajputs serving in the Mughal Government and army had settled in Balasore district.

Commercial Importance of Balasore during Mughal Period:

As Balasore was a commercial town and port, the Mughal official in charge of Balasore exercised a lot of powers and influence over the traders.

In 1650 Briagman, the English factor at Balasore was advised by Captain Brock Haven to keep good relation with the Governor of Balasore. The merchants of Balasore port had to procure a 'Nishan' or order in 1651 for trade. During 1658 when Holik Beg was the administrator 'who was very abusive', the English decided to close the mint.<sup>28</sup>

In 1658 Shah Shuja, the then Subedar of Bengal annexed to Bengal, the territory of Orissa up to Balasore port, which comprised part of Sarkars of Gualpara, Maljhara, Rajkara, Basta and Sonner Jaleswar and Remuna.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> LFI, 1655-60, pp. 192, 407, 408.

<sup>29</sup> Grants of Analysis in Firmanet-II, App. IV., 102-103.

The commercial activity of East India Company also faced setback in Balasore during the time of Aurangzeb. During Aurangzeb's rule, Orissa was given an independent status under a separate Subadar called Khan-i-Dauran. In 1661, Khan-i-Dauran urged the Company to stop their activity in Balasore.<sup>30</sup>

In 1693, Ibram Khan, Nawab of Bengal issued a Farmane to the French. Towards the close of 17 century when Sad-tullah Khan was the administrator of Balasore, Nawab did not like interlopers to continue trade in Balasore.

In 1725 when Tequi Khan was the Deputy Governor in Orissa, Jaleswar Division lying between Tanluk, Midnapore, and the river Suvarnarekha was with the exception of a few small fiscal divisions merged with Bengal. He built Kadam Rasul at Dalasore and the masnary tank.<sup>31</sup>

#### Rise of Aliverdi Khan:

As the Mughal authority at the centre became weak, Orissa came under the rule of the independent Nawabs of Bengal in the early part of eighteenth century. Aliverdi Khan became the Nawab of Bengal in 1740. Then he marched to Jaleswar via Midnapore. His goal was to establish authority over Orissa. While crossing the river Suvarnarekha, he sought the help of the Rajah Jagadiswara of Mayurbhanj who instantly declined. Aliverdi thwarted this challenge of the insolent Rajah by attacking Rajah's forces.

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<sup>30</sup> EPI., 1661, p. 178.

<sup>31</sup> Close to Balasore Municipality Office.

Aliverdi, the indomitable reached Ramchandrapur<sup>32</sup> near Haldipada and encamped there.

Ruston Jung (son-in-law of Shujauddin, who was Aliverdi's rival), the Governor of Orissa had collected 300 cannons. Aliverdi Khan reached Phulwari (Phuladi) and confronted him at a place near Haripur and Dahapara which is situated between Muniajori Bridge from Balasore town side and Burabalanga river Bridge entrance to Balasore town side.<sup>33</sup> This military encounter is mentioned in *Seir Mutaqherin* by Said Ghulam Hussain Khan.

A sanguinary battle took place on 3 March 1741. At first Ruston Jung's son-in-law, Mirza Baqr, routed Aliverdi's Bengal soldiers but Aliverdi's proven attack forced Ruston to flee to save his life. He fled to Balasore port on an elephant accompanied by his son-in-law Mirza Baqr and 2/3 thousand men. Then his friend Haji Mahasin (who also took part in Phulwari war) took him in his merchant ship to Maslipattam in 6 days. Aliverdi placed Saulat Jang in charge of Orissa as Deputy Governor.

No sooner had Aliverdi left Orissa than Mirza Baqr, the son-in-law of Ruston Jang subjugated Orissa and imprisoned Saulat Jang. Consequently, Aliverdi Khan again invaded Orissa. He first released Saulat Jang and then marched against the Raja of Mayurbhanj who was Mirza Baqr's ally. Thereafter, the Raja fled to the hills.

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<sup>32</sup> West of Haldipada Railway Station.

<sup>33</sup> S.S.O'Malley., *District Gazetteer, Balasore*, p.56 ; *Seir, English Translation*, pp. 327-55.

Conflict between the Nawab and Marathas:

Towards the close of 1741, Aliverdi Khan the Nawab of Bengal, established his supremacy over Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. At that time Raghuji Bhonsle was the independent Chief of Nagpur. On receiving an invitation from the envious relatives of Serferez, Raghuji Bhonsle sent his Prime Minister, Bhaskar Ram to invade Bengal and collect 'Chauth' from the province. Bhaskar Ram marched through Orissa with 23 commanders. Aliverdi fought with Marathas in Orissa and re-established his authority in Orissa. But the Marathas carried out their loot and plunder to Midnapore and Balasore. In three months of rainy season, a part of Orissa came under Maratha domination. Bhaskar Ram changed his strategy at Balasore and fought neck to neck with Aliverdi near Midnapore. Being defeated Bhaskar retreated via Balasore in December 1742. On 31 March 1744, Bhaskar Ram was killed by Aliverdi in latter's camp.<sup>34</sup> Now the whole of Orissa came under the control of Mir Habib, a trusted General of Marathas. To check the Marathas, Aliverdi Khan appointed Ahmad Khan as Governor of Orissa.

Marathas entrapped Mir Habib an Afghan General in a battle with Aliverdi in Katwah in Bengal in 1742. Habib was Persian of Shiraz. He migrated to India in search of fortune. He started his life by retailing the wares at Nagli. Marshid Quli-II, being impressed by his knowledge in Persian, appointed him as his Deputy.

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<sup>34</sup>ibid, English Translation, pp.434-5.

Kelsal Company's factor at Balasore wrote that Mir Habib had been awaiting "about two miles distant from the town of Balasore with eight thousand horses and 20,000 foot ..... that he is raising Batteries along the river (Budhabalang) side and planting cannon vessels with a resolution to make a stand against the Nawab's forces."<sup>35</sup>

Aliverdi defeated the Marathas and recovered Orissa. Soon after his departure, Marathas again occupied Cuttack. He heard this disheartening news at Bhadrak on 6 June 1749. Mir Habib reached Balasore on 25 October 1749 where a force of 40,000 joined him.

Aliverdi Khan wanted to destroy Marathas strong-hold completely. Thus writes Ghulam Hossain in Seir Mutakherin "Aliverdi sent Sirej-ed-doulah"<sup>36</sup> young Prince towards Balisser where he heard Mir-Habib had been seen". Then "Seadj-ed-doulah having pursued the enemy, encamped at Balisser-bender and as he discontinued the pursuit".<sup>37</sup>

The army mobilised by Dost Mohammad Khan and Mir Kazim Khan, marched against the Marathas and reached Naraingarh. Aliverdi could not resist his impatience to see his grand-son Sirej-ed-daulah. He reached Narayangarh<sup>38</sup>, the border of Balasore. There he met the formidable force of the Marathas, who gave a tough fight to the Nawab. In 1750, Aliveri defeated Mir Habib.

<sup>35</sup> Bengal letter to Court, 22 Feb. 1747, Para-110.

<sup>36</sup> Seir, Vol.II, p.87.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.88.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

But the conflict between the Marathas and Alivardi Khan did not end. It continued, as both were looking upon Orissa as the bone of contention.

Disastrous Effects of Nawab - Maratha Conflict:

The struggle of Marathas with Nawab in Balasore in 1747 affected the Company's activities and the way of life of Balasore too. The investment by English factory could not be possible. The people fled away from some places out of fear.

The bleaching of cloths could not be possible in Balasore for which English factor at Balasore sent 7 bales of unbleached cloth to Bengal. Even the washermen were not available to wash the cloths of Maratha General Habib.<sup>39</sup>

In 1750 as a result of the Maratha struggle with Alivardi, the weavers fled from Balasore and the English could not purchase goods on such payment.<sup>40</sup>

Commercial and Maritime Importance of Balasore: \*

During sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Balasore was a great seat of export and import. Goods like copper, silver, lead, vermillion, alum, coral, kauri, coir, brimstone, knife and scarlet 'rials of eight' (Spanish eight dollar) meant for Orissa, Bengal and Bihar came via Balasore and Pipili ports. On the other hand 'textile goods', salt, rice, salt petre and the hilly products were being exported to

<sup>39</sup> Fort William to the Court, 22 Feb., 1745-47, para-110.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 20 August, 1750, para-63 ; 4 Feb. 1750-51, para-9C.



Tenasserin, Malacca and Achin from Balasore. Timber was available in Balasore. The vessel 'Thomas' carried sugar from Balasore to Hauslipatnum in 1634 worth 4,000 pagodas (Rs. 14,000/-).<sup>41</sup>

Duillier mentioned Balasore as "a place celebrated for trade in white calicoes called Sanas (Sanno)". Streynsham Master, Supervisor of the fort St. George instructed the Chief of Balasore to purchase 'nillaes', a kind of blue cloth from Balasore in 1679.<sup>42</sup>

Such places of Balasore district as Soro, Balramgarhi, Bhadrak were the cloth producing areas. Of the clothes Sannoel, dimities and malmuls were most important. Other types were Casso, Gurrak, Nillas, Mulnum, Harman, calico (called Sannah), Setalle, Tachen, Charconaa, Ambari, Seerband, Luga, Romal.<sup>43</sup> These cotton articles were being exported from Balasore port.

Soro was famous for weavers of high calibre, producing Sannoels of high quality. Makalpur a place today in Balasore town, produced good cloths. There we find many weaving families today.

Clavell's account provides us the information that 'Ulmorrah' a place on the border of Balasore was famous for Tesser cloth which retains it till today.

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<sup>41</sup>Master's Diary., II, pp. 227-254.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>.. Stirling., Orissa., p.12.

In 1747-48, 20 bales of brown Sannoes came to Balasore for whitening.<sup>44</sup> Balasore developed trade relation with Europe and Persia, Japan, South Asia, Malacca and Batavia.<sup>45</sup> Bernier writes that Balasore port received elephants from Ceylon and Tennassurim. Ships used to sail from here to Maldives to bring Kawris and cryro (coir). Raw silk, salt petre, sugar, dry ginger, bees-wax, rice, butter, oil, wheat were imported to Balasore.

A port served as a place for loading and unloading of ships. It had two dry docks on the banks of the river Barabalang. A number of indigenous merchants such as Chimchen, Khemchand (Gujarati), Chintaman Shah, Heerchurne, Saraj Snaw, Rajaram, Kalyan Ray, Ram Narain, Gangaram were trading at Balasore.

Balasore port was also used for ship-building and ship repair.<sup>46</sup> Bruton mentions Balasore as "a sea town where shipbuilding was built".<sup>47</sup> Balasore was known as a 'convenient dock for trimming'.

#### Portuguese Trade in Balasore:

The commercial importance of Balasore attracted various European traders. The Portuguese were the first to come to Balasore. L.W. Hunter and Campos opine that the Portuguese arrived in Fipli the place at the mouth of river Suvarnachha

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<sup>44</sup>Port William, India House Correspondence, Part-I, 1747-48, p.61.

<sup>45</sup>Manuel Nicolao, IV, p.160.

<sup>46</sup>C.R. Wilson, The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, London, 1900, pp. 244, 275.

<sup>47</sup>William Bruton's Account in Osborne Collection of Voyages and Travels, II, p.275.

in 1514.<sup>48</sup> According to Wilson, they arrived in 1599. Possibly they started trade after 1599. By 1620, Pipili was a prosperous trading centre. In his account, Bruton has described Pipili as a port town of the Portuguese. It was "an important Portuguese settlement on the eastern coast of India". It was a "port town of the Portuguese where Portuguese are residents".<sup>49</sup> In 1634, Shah Jahan cancelled the privileges of the Portuguese and permitted English instead. Manrique visited Pipili in 1636. He writes "the town of Pipili lies 4/5 leagues beyond the river mouth".

The Portuguese lost their image as traders when they sold their prisoners in Pipili. Pipili as well as Balasore became slave market in Balasore in the Persian account of Shihab-ud-din Talish (Circa 1665). Thus Magh and Viringha pirates<sup>50</sup> "brought the captives for sale at a high price to Tanluk and the port of Balasore".

Although the Portuguese trading activities declined after the coming of English to Balasore, they remained at Balasore for a long period. Even as late as 1766 they had a church at Balasore.

<sup>48</sup> I. I. Hunter, Orissa, Vol. II, p. 39.

<sup>49</sup> Account of Travels of Fray Sebastião Manrique in 1636, reprint in OCEI, XV, Nos. 3 & 4, 1967.

<sup>50</sup> There is a place called Viringha Patana near the present flyover (Sahadevkhunta) in Balasore.

Dutch:

Opinions differ as to the coming of Dutch to Pipli in Balasore. Either they came in 1625<sup>51</sup> or they arrived in 1627 as is held by modern scholars.<sup>52</sup> Campos holds that Dutch came to Balasore in 1625.

In the flifties of 17 century the Dutch used to send ships from Pipli, carrying 2,000 tons of refined salt petre annually.<sup>53</sup> In 1653, two Dutch vessels left Balasore for Basra. Due to difference with Malik Beg their ware-house at Pipli was destroyed in 1653.

In 1662 Dutch were permitted to bring their ships to the ports of Pipli and Balasore as a result of a farman issued by Aurangzeb. In 1664 a dispute between English and Dutch was solved by Nawab Shaiyasta Khan.<sup>54</sup> In 1704 seven Dutch ships arrived in Balasore. As late as 1758, they were carrying on trade at Balasore. Their settlement in Balasore is called Ulandasahi. A moat near this village is called Ulandanala. The Dutch grave-yard is adjacent to Parabati Girls' High School (with two old monuments in good condition). On one of the tombs, 18 feet high, the letters 'H BELIA' is engraved. Another tomb, which is 16 feet high is the tomb of a Dutch who died in November

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<sup>51</sup>Wilson, Early Annals, I., p.137.

<sup>52</sup>The Cambridge History of India, V, pp. 40.41.

<sup>53</sup>B.F.I., 1631-54, 95.

<sup>54</sup>Hunter, Orissa, II, 311.



Persia, a market for sale of goods imported from Europe but also to its being invaluable as a sea-port".<sup>57</sup>

French:

The French ship called Flamond appeared in the outskirts of the Balasore town on the bank of river Burabalang in 1673. Malik Kasim, the Nawab's Officer in charge of Balasore received it warmly. He arranged for the French a house for stay and 3,000 rupees to start a factory at Balasore. Unfortunately, the ship was attacked by the Dutch who were ultimately penalised by Shoyista Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. By dint of a Parwana, they were allowed to start a commercial settlement in 1674. Duplex<sup>2</sup> selected Balasore as a suitable site in Orissa. The complex got further favour of Ibrahim Khan, Nawab of Bengal in 1693. The French seemed to have occupied an area of 64 acres which increased to 169 acres in the end of 19 century which later on was reduced to 38 acres after the settlement of British Government. The Balasore factory used to despatch letters to Pondichery.<sup>58</sup> Cloth was imported by the French from Balasore. A French ship landed at Balasore in 1720 to invest money for Sannoes.<sup>59</sup> Other articles of import were sugar, linen, silk, wax, salt petre. In 1744 because of Maratha atrocity the French

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<sup>57</sup>Wilson, Early Annals.

<sup>58</sup>S.P. Sen, the French in India, 1763-1816,  
92 based on La Memoirs of 1767, p.8, H.S.100.

<sup>59</sup>Wilson, op. cit., III., 273.

factory at Balasore could not function and the factory people had to leave the place out of fear. The French settlement in Balasore is called Parasidanga (French Enclave). It was within the jurisdiction of the French administrator of Chandannagar.

Danes:

The Danes made efforts to establish their factory at Balasore in 1633.<sup>60</sup> Bowrey writes that Danes built a factory at Balasore getting a sanction from 'Mughal Governor',<sup>61</sup> Holik Kasim by paying Rs.5,000/Rs.6,000 to him.

Danes occupied 7 acres of land close to town. Their settlement is now called Dinawardinga. It is close to Glandassahi. They had a small dock for shipping. Their establishment was ceded to the British in 1846.<sup>62</sup>

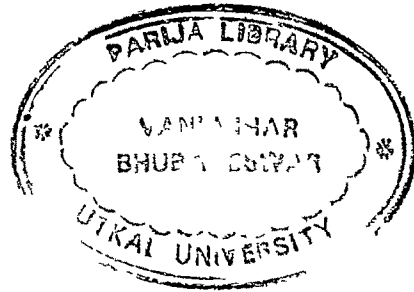
By the middle of the eighteenth century, when Balasore alongwith the rest of Orissa came under the Maratha rule, it had already become a place of great political and commercial importance. Politically it had been the battle-ground of Mughals and Afghans and the Nawab of Bengal and the Marathas. (Bhonslas) Commercially. Balasore had drawn traders of various European nations because of its port and its cotton textiles which were produced in large scale in its surrounding areas.

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<sup>60</sup>Master II, 84.

<sup>61</sup>L.S.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.201.

<sup>62</sup>The word Governor means here Administrator.



## CHAPTER - II

### MARATHA RULE

( 1751 - 1803 )

The decade that preceded the treaty of 1751, concluded between Raghuji Bhonsle, the Maratha Chief of Nagpur and Aliverdi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, was a period of anarchy in Orissa. The economic condition of the province became miserable during this period of Chaos. Attacks of the Marathas and the counter-attacks of the Nawabs army became frequent. Balasore, being the border district, had to suffer a lot as a result of the clashes between the Nawab's army and Maratha hordes.

Balasore became the theatre of skirmishes between the Nawab's soldiers and the Marathas during 1742-1751. The conflicts between the Marathas and Nawab's army became frequent as the former forcibly collected money from the people to meet the pressing demand of their home authorities. But in spite of several attempts by the Nawab to drive away the Marathas, they continued their plundering activities in Orissa.



The large scale successful plunder and extortion of money from the innocent people by Janoji Bhonsle, the son of Raghuji and Mir Habib, an Afghan who was the Lieutenant of Maratha army paralysed the Nawab's authority in Crissa. Consequently, Aliverdi Khan lost all the hope of defeating the Marathas. The game of hide and seek played by the Marathas under the generalship of Mir Habib exhausted the aged and ailing Nawab, Aliverdi Khan. The Nawab did not want to prolong the fight with the Marathas any longer having already undertaken 'ten' campaigns against them. The Marathas had also faced tremendous set-backs because of Nawab's invasions. As a result from both sides there was anxiety for compromise.<sup>1</sup>

#### Compromise:

In the compromise that soon took place between the Nawab Aliverdi Khan and Maratha Chief Raghuji Bhonsle, Mir Habib played a key role.<sup>2</sup>

In the negotiation of the treaty between the two parties, Mir Zafar acted as the representative of the Nawab and Mirza Saleh negotiated on behalf of Raghuji Bhonsle.<sup>3</sup>

The treaty was finally concluded in May or June 1751. The treaty has been described by Seid Ghulam Hussain Khan in his book *Seir Mutaqherin*. The terms of the treaty are as

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<sup>1</sup>J. Sarkar (Ed.) History of Bengal, Vol.II, p.456.

<sup>2</sup>Seir-Mutaqherin, Vol.II, p.111.

<sup>3</sup>Riyaz, p.361.

follows:<sup>4</sup>

"That the river Sonamakhia which runs by Ballisser Bander, should henceforward be reputed to be the wall and boundary betwixt the two dominions, and that the Marhatta armies would never offer to cross it, or he put a foot in its waters".<sup>5</sup>

"That Mir Habib, deemed henceforward to be in the service of the Majestous in battles, should be invested by him with the honourable office of Deputy to His Highness in the Nizamet or Military Government of the province of Orissa. That as Deputy Governor he should receive orders to appropriate the revenues due to Rhago-dji-bhoslah's troops. That over and above that assignment, the sum of twelve lacs of rupees should be paid to Rhago-dji's agents yearly, under condition that the Marhatta would never set their foot again within dominions of his Highness. Lastly that Mut-suddies and the Accomptant office of Bengal would pay yearly the above sum".<sup>6</sup>

Alivardi finally surrendered the whole of Orissa, south of the Suvarnarekha river and the Pargana of Pataspur and other 12 Parganas beyond the river as well to Raghuji Bhonsle I.

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<sup>4</sup>Seir Mutacherin or Views of the Modern Times, Vol.II, (1707-1780), reprinted by Cambray & Co., Calcutta, 1926, pp. 590-91.

<sup>5</sup>Seir Vol.II, pp. 112, 113.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp.112-113, Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol.2, No.1247, pp. 331-332.

The area that Aliverdi ceded to the Marathas was 8,000 Sq. miles, it extended for 200 miles on the sea coast right from Pipili at the mouth of Suvernarekha river to Malud in Ganjam. It was a long stretch of coastal belt.<sup>7</sup>

The treaty resulted in the establishment of Maratha rule in Orissa. Orissa came under the rule of the Bhonsle Chief of Nagpur province. Henceforth the Maratha would collect Chauth in Orissa without any obstruction from the Nawab of Bengal.<sup>8</sup>

#### Mir Habib - Ist Deputy Governor:

The appointment of Mir Habib as the Deputy Governor of Orissa was based on a ground created by Mir Habib himself. The Marathas wanted him to work as Deputy Governor of Orissa because he had yet to clear the promised arrears to Marathas for utilising the Maratha soldiers.

Aliverdi agreed to Habib's appointment as he could not find a better Muslim General to manage the difficult situation in Orissa. Legally Mir Habib ruled as a servant of Aliverdi to clear up the dues of Raghuji. But he was under the de facto control of Marathas, as he had worked as their General. Practically he behaved like an autocratic ruler.

#### Death of Habib:

In 1752 Janoji, the son of Raghuji Bhonsle came to Orissa as his father's representative and soon became aware of the misdeeds of Mir Habib. Habib did not send the amount

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<sup>7</sup> Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of East India Company, 1812, Appendix No.4, p.245.

<sup>8</sup> A Tribute ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) claimed by Marathas from conquered provinces.

that was due to Raghuji. The Maratha officers working under him resented his haughty attitude. Janoji soon disliked Habib's "strictness of command and imperiousness of temper". He wanted to institute an enquiry on his account.

Mir Habib was summoned to the court of Janoji at Gharpada<sup>9</sup>, a place which was 20 kilometres away from Balasore and is situated between Jaleswar and Balasore to render his accounts. Habib whose troops remained at a distance from the camp had to pass the whole day 'hearing questions and giving answers'.<sup>10</sup>

Habib was charged with embezzlement.<sup>11</sup> Thereafter, he was imprisoned in the camp of Gharpada. He soon discovered that a plot had been hatched to kill him. So he tried to escape, but was caught and brutally killed in the mid-night of 4 September 1752.<sup>12</sup>

Chalam Hussain has thus described the plight of Mir Habib: "Mir Habib who was on foot and unarmed and had but a handful of men was slain as he was pushing forward with ardour; and every one of his followers was either killed or disabled". The place where this incident took place in the Pargana Gharpada is today known as Habibpuri. A small market has grown up there. Mir Habib's grave is still found

<sup>9</sup>Situated at the border of Mayurbhanja and Balasore District.

<sup>10</sup>Seiz, Vol.II, p.116.

<sup>11</sup>District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.51.

<sup>12</sup>Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of Mughal Empire, I, pp.50,102,103; Datta " Alivardi and his times", pp. 51,91.

in the burial ground of Kadam Rasul<sup>13</sup>, near Dargha Maidon (field), close to present Balasore Municipality.

After the death of Habib, his nephew Mirza Saleh, an Officer of Nagpur Court succeeded him as the Deputy Governor of Orissa with the consent of Aliverdi Khan as well as Raghuji Bhonsle. He ruled from 1752 to 1759.

Different scholars hold different opinions on the territorial arrangements, made in the treaty of 1751. Usuf Ali (1764-1770) was of opinion that the Suvarnarekha river near Jaleswar<sup>14</sup> was the line of demarcation between Bengal and Orissa in 1751. Maratha sources also corroborate this view.<sup>15</sup> But Ghulam Hussain Taba Tabai held that 'Sona Makia' which ran near 'Ballisar Bander' was situated in the northern side of Orissa in 1751.<sup>16</sup> Grand Duff held that Aliverdi Khan ceded the whole of the province of 'Kuttack' (Cuttack) as far as Balasore to the Marathas.<sup>17</sup> Paramananda Acharya holds the view that 'Balliser' could not be mistaken as Jaleswar near Suvarnarekha river and that it was not Suvarnarekha river (Sunah described as Sonamakia in the treaty of 1751) a tributary of Burabalang river (Sona and Gangahar met near the National Highway No.5 west of Phuladi) that runs west of Phulwar

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<sup>13</sup>Seir, Vol.II, p.117.

<sup>14</sup>Yusuf Ali- Ahwal-i-Mahabur Jang 82a; J. Sarkar (Bengal Nawabs), p.150.

<sup>15</sup>Nagpur Bhonsle Bakhar 45-46 quoted by Surdesai in Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Dibhage, Vol.II, p.492.

<sup>16</sup>Seir (Ed.), Raymond-II, p.113.

<sup>17</sup>Duff "History of the Marathas", Vol.I, p.457.

Ghat or Phuladi Ghat just four kilometres away from Balasore which was the line of demarcation between the Nawab's territory and the Maratha territory.

There is no denying the fact that 'Ballisar Bander' or Balasore port was there and Suvernarekha river acted as the frontline protecting the north of Orissa. The maximum Mughal Maratha fights took place in this area between Suvernarekha river and Balasore port, whenever the Mughals crossed this river. Naturally the river gathers a lot of importance due to this fact.

Secondly, the distance between this river and Balasore is only forty kilometres which prompts us to form an extreme view that Sunai which was close to Balasore port and an important tributary of Burabalang could not be accepted as Sonamukhi or Suvernarekha river.

Thirdly, Suvernarekha touches the northern position of Balasore for miles together and Sunai is insignificant in that respect. Hence there is sufficient ground to accept Sonamukhi or Suvernarekha river of Jaleswar as the separating line mentioned in the treaty of 1751. Sonai presently known as Sona) could not be accepted as Suvernarekha river as opined by Paramananda Acharya. L.S.S.O'Malley points out that by the treaty of 1751 Suvernarekha became the boundary of Orissa. The Suvernarekha was, however, not the real boundary of Orissa as the Marathas held such territories to the north-east of the river as the Parganas of Bhogra, Kamanda, Pataspur and Shahbandar and several villages of the present thana of Gopinathpur.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>District Gazetteer, Balasore, 1907.

In fact the treaty was not properly implemented because Bengal and Orissa claimed their jurisdiction over the area on both sides of the river. While parganas like Potaspur (now in West Bengal) Bhograi, Kamarda, Shahbander (north Balasore) remained under the possession of Orissa. Bengal Government had Velorachour pargana under its possession.<sup>19</sup>

In these border areas some of which now belong to Orissa and others to the Midnapore district of West Bengal, the people speak both Bengalee and Oriya languages.

#### Maratha Administration in Balasore:

Since 1751 Orissa remained under the administration of the Marathas with a Subedar in Charge of it. The province was divided into two political divisions such as Mughalbandi and Garhjat.<sup>20</sup> Mughalbandi covered the plain lands in the sea coast from the river Suvarnarekha to the border of Khurda. It was under direct Maratha administration. The hill regions, situated to the west of the plains which were ruled by the indigenous Chiefs were called Garhjats.

Marathas divided Mughalbandi for the purposes of better administration and collection of land revenue, into four 'Chaklas' or divisions such as Balasore, Soro, Bhadrak and Cuttack. These Chaklas were further sub-divided into parganas which numbered 150. Pargana was further divided into two, three or more mahals or allotments<sup>21</sup> and each Mahal into

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<sup>19</sup> It is near Rajghat Railway Station and situated on the bank of Suvarnarekha near Dasta.

<sup>20</sup> Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1st March, 1804.

<sup>21</sup> Bengal Revenue Consultations, 1st August, 1822, No.5, 15 Oct' 1821 Stirling to Government.

some villages. During Maratha rule thirtytwo amils controlled the revenue administration of Mughalbandi area.<sup>22</sup>

Revenue Officer:

Amil was the Revenue Officer. Some junior Revenue Officers assigned to taluk or sub-division were called Chaudries, Kanungoes or Talukdars who used to assist Amils.<sup>23</sup> The Talukdar realised revenue from the ryots of Pahi Kest villages. Sadar Kanungo was the highest Revenue official next to Amil. The Gumastah assisted Sadar Kanungo. The Mukadams were Revenue Officers having hereditary rights of office and enjoyed rent-free lands.

The Marathas introduced a yearly revenue settlement which was known as 'Hastabud Settlement'. All the revenue realised from the ryots was regularly sent to the Government. The land revenue was fixed for the land actually under cultivation.<sup>24</sup> During the period under review, there was an increase of the revenue of the Pargana of Kamarda Chour<sup>25</sup>, Bhogra and Pataspur. Zamindars of such parganas were collecting money from the land holders who used to pay their revenue through them but the former kept the lion's share with them and paid a small amount to the Government. When this was opposed by the land holders, the Government increased the revenue.

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<sup>22</sup> Bengal Revenue Proceedings No.5 of August 1, 1822, A. Stirling, Secretary to Commissioner of Cuttack to Government of Bengal, Oct. 15, 1821.

<sup>23</sup> Bengal Revenue Consultation-I, August 1822, No.5, 15 Oct. 1821, A. Stirling to Government.

<sup>24</sup> Board's Collection, Vol.586, No.14189, p.300.

Ray <sup>25</sup> Orissa under Marathas, p.134.



The land-holders who owned proprietary right in their estates faced difficulties. Difficulty arose in case of transfer of land. Legality of an heir was established on payment of fine. The tax varied according to the whims of the tax collectors of this time. Pilgrim tax from pilgrims going to Lord Jagannath of Puri was realised in the border i.e., near Rajghat and Jaleswar for which 12 Choukies were appointed.

#### Faujdar of Balasore:

The Marathas had a military headquarter in Balasore which was held in charge of an Officer, called Faujdar. This headquarters was strategically most important, as Balasore was a border district and susceptible to inroads from outside. In the Maratha rule, a number of Faujdars were appointed to control military stations in the State, having with them some horses and infantrymen. They were appointed by the Subedar of Orissa. A party of (500 foot) infantry and cavalry (36 horses) was usually posted at Balasore.

The second Maratha station was Fulwar Ghat (Fuladi Ghat) situated at the entrance of Balasore on the bank of Budhabalang river. This was a strong Maratha station as it guarded the entrance of Balasore. The other important military stations in the district were Soro, Padampur and Jaipur.<sup>26</sup>

The Balasore Faujdar discharged military as well as civil functions. The faujdar exercised authority over a large area. He maintained discipline in the district; his power extended to the supervision of trade and commerce, collection of duties on grains and other commodities on the way and

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<sup>26</sup> Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories, pp.4, 8, 12.

revenue collection from the tributary States of Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj which he remitted to Cuttack.<sup>27</sup> He not only looked after the border district but also suppressed the rebellions in the neighbouring feudatory States like Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj. For this great responsibility, he was given land-grants towards his remuneration.<sup>28</sup> The zamindars who got Sanads had to attend the Faujdar with Paiks when the latter needed their help to suppress any rebellion of the unruly subjects.<sup>29</sup> The Marathas seemed to have followed the Muhammedan law in civil and administrative matters but in matters of caste and religion they followed Hindu law. Some Kanungoes were appointed as 'Gostipati' or President of Caste Panchayat for solving disputes regarding religion and caste. A sanad of Kaupur Mahasay (near Bhadrak) reveals that their ancestors held these above posts.

#### Balramgarhi:

Siraj-ud-daullah succeeded Aliverdi Khan in April 1756 as the Nawab of Bengal after the later's expiry. When Fort William, the strong-hold of the East India Company in Calcutta fell into the hands of the Nawab on 20 June 1756, the British settlement at Balasore became aware of it. Hearing this disaster in the headquarter, Thomas Bodam, the Chief of British Settlement at Balasore left the place out of fear with a couple of soldiers carrying Company's 5 to 6 thousand rupees.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Early European Travellers in Nagpur Territories, p.52, CPC, Vol.I, 1763.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>29</sup> A. Stirling, An Account of Orissa Prover, Appendix- ,p.XI.

<sup>30</sup> Bengal and Madras Paper, Part-I, p.459, S.C.Hill (Ed.) Bengal in 1756-57, Vol.I, pp.57,104.

The fugitive Englishmen fled to Balramgarhi, which was 12 kilometres away from Balasore and was situated at the mouth of river Budhabalang.<sup>31</sup> This place also became the shelter of those English people who left Fort William after their deluge in the hands of Siraj.<sup>32</sup> Balramgarhi remained a British residency for some time.

#### French Help to Siraj:

While Siraj was ruthlessly expelling the English in Bengal, his Deputy Mirza Saleh (1752-59) was secretly helping them at Balasore and Orissa at large. In order to defeat the English, Siraj sought the help of the French. He kept close contact with Monsieur Bussey who was in charge of the affairs of Northern Sirkar.<sup>33</sup> Siraj wanted the French Generals Bussey and Monsieur Law to come to Balasore to help him.<sup>34</sup> Siraj instructed Mirza Saleh to assist Monsieur Bussey in his expedition through Orissa. Mirza Saleh silently defied Siraj's order and did not have any contact with the French.

At this stage, we come across the note of a British Officer, named 'Macquire' stationed at Balaramgarhi, who advised the British authority in Bengal to manage to procure an order from Nawab for providing goods for the Company at

<sup>31</sup> S.C.Hill (Ed.), Bengal in 1756-57, Vol.I, pp. XCV, Bengal and Madras Paper Part.I, p.409.

John Beam's<sup>32</sup> Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian, Chap. Balasore.

<sup>33</sup> S.C.Hill (Ed.), Bengal in 1756-57, Vol.I, p.CLXXI, Vol.II, Letter Nos.317, 319,431 (pp.313,314,402).

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., Vol.II, Letters Nos.317, 318.

Bhadrak and other places (Aurang's i.e. Salt manufacturing places). On 30 November 1756 John Zephaneah Holwell ninth member of the Council suggested to the court of Directors that 'Balramgarhi might be nominated as their Presidency'.<sup>35</sup>

Mirza Saleh's Relation with the English:

The emergence of the Marathas as the rulers of Orissa hampered the commercial activity of the English East India Company in Balasore considerably. Kelsall the British resident at Balasore in 1753 reported that because of the Maratha inroads many weavers had left the place for which he could not purchase some cotton goods. Because of the Maratha's rapacities many weavers sought the protection of the Company at Balasore. Marathas grew more powerful in the province after 1755. In the meantime Mirza Saleh's relation with the Company became strained because he followed the policy of pleasing the Marathas and interfered with the Company's affairs at Balasore. At first the Company tried to put pressure on Mirza Saleh through the Nawab but as they found the Nawab too weak to influence Mirza Saleh, they reconciled with Mirza Saleh offering him suitable presents. As a result, Mirza Saleh allowed them the right to trade without paying any tax. Mirza Saleh left Balasore for Murshidabad on 27 June 1755.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Fort William, India House Correspondence, Vol. I,  
p.155 (1748-56).

Ray, <sup>36</sup> Orissa under Marathas, p.27.

Mirza Saleh and his son Dadar Ali, the Faujdar of Balasore were dismissed because of irregular payment of Chauth of Bengal and revenue of Orissa from 1757 to 1760 to the Bhonsle.<sup>37</sup> He was the last Muslim Subedar of the province, appointed by both Nawab and Marathas. After his removal from the post, the Nawab of Bengal could no more exercise 'de-jure' power over Orissa.

#### Sheo-Bhatt:

After the dismissal of Mirza Saleh, the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur appointed his own man, a Marathi, named Sheo Bhatt for direct collection of revenue.<sup>38</sup> Sheo Bhatt remained in charge of Orissa during a period from 1760-1764.

#### Dismissal of Burdett:

In 1761 a quarrel took place between John Burdett<sup>39</sup> who was the Chief of Balasore factory and the Marathas. The latter complained against Burdett's oppression. On the other hand Burdett reported that the Marathas had made absurd claims on British factory and threatened to sack the factory.

#### Dak Munshi:

Burdett left Balasore and Ghulam Mustafa Munshi was entrusted with the task of carrying on the Company's business. By 1761 the Company's business in Balasore was coming to a

<sup>37</sup> C.P.C. Vol.II, No.1244, Long Rev. J (Ed.) Selection from unpublished Records of Govt. from 1748 to 1767 including Vol.I, Calcutta 1863.

<sup>38</sup> C.P.C., Vol.I, No.1254.

<sup>39</sup> John Burdett Chief of Balasore Factory, Fort William India House Correspondence, Vol.III, 1760-1763, p.333.

standstill. Ghulam Mustafa was a Dak Munshi. Dak Munshis used to act as political agents of the Company as well as postal agents in coastal belts for the sake of correspondence between Calcutta and Madras.<sup>40</sup>

In March, 1761 Sadiq became the Faujdar of Balasore. At that time John Bristow was discharging the duty as Chief of Balasore factory. He was advised from the headquarters at Calcutta to collect  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent duty on all goods from those merchants who had applied for pass-port of the East India Company.

The Company tried to restrain Marathas from their repressive activities on British establishment through their political agents. Ghulam Mustafa was directed to persuade Sheoram Bhatt not to be unfriendly towards their people in their establishment at Balasore. The Company tried to survive at Balasore by all possible tactful means.<sup>41</sup>

When Darya Khan became the Faujdar of Balasore in 1762, Dak Munshi Ghulam Mustafa maintained good relations with Faujdar. On 7 February 1763, some French ships attacked the port of Balasore but these ships of war were captured. On 27 September 1760, Mir Jasim, the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa entered into a treaty with Company according to which he assigned the Chuckla of Jellasore (Jaleswar) to Company.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Imperial Records Department, C.P.C., 1911, Vol. I, 1759-67, p.52, No.838.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Chandra, History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, 1761-1861, p.5.

The British tried to convince the Nawab that to save Bengal from the Maratha's invasion, the Nawab should expel the Marathas from Orissa and give the tract lying between Jaleswar and Cuttack (entire Balasore) to the Company. The Company was prepared to undertake the task of expelling Marathas from Orissa, if the expenditure was borne by the Nawab for the same.<sup>43</sup> The Nawab declined to comply with the Company's proposal as its execution involved large financial expenditures.

Meanwhile insolence of the Marathas became unbearable for the English. The relation between Mir Kasim and the Company also became strained on account of duty-free trade and oppression of Company's officers. The Nawab stopped the abuse of trade privileges that the Company wanted to enjoy exclusively.

#### Collection of Chauth:

Janoji Bhonsle had been trying to collect Chauth from Orissa according to the treaty of 1751. Chauth was a tribute claimed by the Marathas from conquered province. As the Company had started its establishment in Balasore long back, it had also to pay Chauth to Marathas.

#### Nawab - Maratha Union Foiled:

Instead of helping the English against the Marathas Mir Kasim, the Nawab of Bengal sought to win over Sheo Bhatt, the Maratha Governor to his side in order to weaken the position of the British. The Nawab extended an invitation to Sheo Bhatt to join with him in connection with collection of

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<sup>43</sup> Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 13, 17 Sept. 1761; C.F.C. 1, Nos. 1325, 1394.

Chauth for which the Nawab sent "a Sanad"<sup>44</sup> of Jaleswar and Midnapore to Maratha Chief Sheo Bhatt. When their relation grew stronger and Marathas were sure of realisation of Chauth, Sheo Bhatt sent Bhaskar Pandit and Buly Khan, the adopted son of Sheo Bhatt to join Mir Kasim at Jaleswar.

Apprehending danger from this Union' between the Nawab and Marathas, the Company sent Aga Muhammed Ali, an inhabitant of Balasore and Ghulam Mustafa Munshi, the Company's Gomastah stationed at Balasore to Sheo Bhatt for friendly negotiation. In order to win the Marathas away from Nawab's side the two British agents assured the Marathas the payment of Chauth. But subsequently the British played treachery with them. They did not keep their promise. Naturally Sheo Bhatt fell into arrears. In 1764, Janoji dismissed Sheo Bhatt for non-payment of arrears.

Chimna Sau was appointed in his place as Governor of Orissa in April 1764.<sup>45</sup> At this stage the Maratha agent Buly Khan was killed by the Raja of Dhenkanal. To punish the later Bhawani Pandit, the Dewan of Orissa rushed immediately to Dhenkanal. At this opportune moment Sheo Bhatt, the ousted Maratha Chief, his younger brother Bhaskar Pandit ( the dismissed Faujdar of Balasore who had defaulted the payment of revenue) staged a revolt against Janoji and joined hands with Rajas of Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri. They carried all treasures of Balasore to these States.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Bengal Secret Committee Proceedings, 18 Feb. 1762.

<sup>45</sup> C.P.C., Vol.I, Nos.2173, 2176.

<sup>46</sup> C.P.C., Vol.I, No.2422.



Taking advantage of the pre-occupation of Maratha armies of Bhawani Pandit, the Dewan of Orissa in Dhenkanal, these Rajas pillaged some of the parganas of Balasore district. Immediately after quelling the rebellion in Dhenkanal, Bhawani Pandit (de facto Subedar)<sup>47</sup> proceeded to Balasore with a view to punishing those Rajas who had started collection of taxes from the peasants directly. Bhawani Pandit could establish good relation with Lord Clive. With his support the Zamindars having salt lands in Balasore could be able to sell the salt to the British.<sup>48</sup>

Pataspur, a salt manufacturing area became the refuge of the rebel proprietors. Belorechour (Velora) was the disputed pargana claimed by Damodar Bhanja, the Raja of Mayurbhanj. Vansitart wanted to bring Pataspur under their control to stop such disturbances.

Company owns Diwani of Orissa:

Chinna Sau, the Naib Nazim of Orissa allowed the Company to carry on their postal facilities in Orissa. Company set up its residence at Balasore and Cuttack.<sup>49</sup> Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa came under the Company on 17 August 1765, according to the terms of the treaty of 1765 i.e., grant of Dewani in 1765 by Shah Alam II (the Emperor of Delhi) to Clive.

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<sup>47</sup> Ray, Orissa under Marathas, p.40.

<sup>48</sup> Vereist to G. Vansitart, Fort William, 28 April, 1767(M.C.)

<sup>49</sup> C.P.C. I, Nos.2191, 2204, 2326.

Even then the legal authority of the Company over Orissa for collection of revenue could not be practically possible because of the de facto rule of the Marathas. So far as the Bhonsle Chief Janoji was concerned, he could not realise the Chauth of Orissa on the basis of the firman of Shah Alam II to Janoji Bhonsle in 1754.<sup>50</sup> This was a vexed issue. To solve this stalemate in later years in 1766 at the order of Clive, Thomas Motte undertook a journey to Nagpur provinces: "to sound the officers of Janoji's court whether he would cede Orissa for annual tribute to give a contiguity to the British dominion in India. He met Bhawani Pandit twice for a stipulated amount."<sup>51</sup>

Motte's Report on Balasore:

Thomas Motte left Calcutta on 13 March 1766 and reached Jaleswar on 23 March (Tuesday).<sup>52</sup> He undertook a journey to Sambalpur via Balasore with two purposes. He was to visit Sambalpur diamond mines as the Rajah of Sambalpur wanted Clive the Governor, to send some trusted men for diamond transaction. Secondly, Clive wanted to continue talk with the Maratha Chief over cession of Orissa for an annual tribute.<sup>53</sup> In the year 1766, Mariot was the English Resident of Balasore. He was appointed on 26 February 1764 by the Company to despatch letter to distant places. He held a key post. Motte wrote in his itinerary: "I crossed the river Soonbunarekha (Suvernarekha)

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<sup>50</sup> Select Committee Proceedings, 1764, Vol.2, pp.332-33, Vol.18, pp. 311-12.

<sup>51</sup> Early European Travellers, B.I.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.6, History of Mayurbhanj, 1761-1861, Part-I, p.4.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.1.

the 25th in company with Mr. Mariot and entered the Mohurbunge country. I passed the fort of Ommerda nagar". Then Jaleswar, as he recorded was a small town on the bank of Suvarnarekha river. Thereafter, he passed through Rajghat, Multany in village Kanpur, Ranisari and Basta. At that time, Basta was a large village and was the first Maratha Chowkey on the road, consisting of a Thanadar and twenty men. The road beyond Basta was more wide. He also referred to Gharpada village of Rupsa, which was "fortified in the country manner by Assud Ullah in the service of 'Mohur-Bunge Raja (Mayurbhanj king) who apostatized from Hinduism and became a Mussalman". From Gharpada of Rupsa he proceeded to Ranchandrapur near Haldipada where there was a mud-hill. This heap is still found today in between No.5 National Highway and Haldipada which is 13 kilometres from Balasore proper.

#### Balasore, the Military Belt:

Phoolwar Ghat on the bank of Burabalang river was the entrance of the Balasore town which was then a strong Maratha station. A party of 30 horse and 500 foot was kept ready at Balasore.

From Rajghat village, situated on the bank of the Suvarnarekha river up to Balasore, Motte saw 'twelve Chowkeys'.<sup>54</sup> The distance was 25 miles. The pilgrims going to Lord Jagannath had to pay money (octroi tax) at the first and last ghat(gate). Then Balasore was a neat and populous town, one mile in length and half a mile breadth". He wrote that Balasore town had grown

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<sup>54</sup>Early European Travellers, p.3.

on the bank of the river Burabalang where vessels with 100 tons weight could come in the stream. The growth of English factory at the river-side with a large building had been mentioned by him. There was also a French factory at the curve of the river Burabalang in the east of Balasore town which is at present called old Balasore. One part of the area of old Balasore is called Farasidinga. In his report he refers to a Dutch Factory. He also mentions the existence of two pyramids during this time belonging to them. There was a Portuguese church in this locality. Armenian and Portuguese people used to stay in this locality. All their foreign establishments grew up in the river-side.

He left Balasore on 27 April, the same year and went to Nilgiri which is 20 kilometres from Balasore.

#### Soro:

From Motte's report we know there was no village between Balasore and Soro. There was a Maratha station at Soro with a party of 100 horse<sup>s</sup>. He crossed Kansbans river on 29 April. He has mentioned a stone bridge on this river, having a length of 120 yards and a breadth of 10 yards. It had ten arches. It was built by Shuja Khan. He also saw the deplorable condition of localities near Bhadrak due to frequent attacks of Marathas. He mentions notoriety of the dacoits at Bhadrak. He wrote: "Colonel Peirce was robbed in the midst of his camp. He doubled our guards and escaped."<sup>55</sup> The place was famous for good weavers. The route he followed during his journey has been mentioned in Rennel's Map.

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<sup>55</sup> Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories,  
pp. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 10.

Terms on Chauth:

Motte's talk with Bhawani Pandit bore no fruit. He was dissatisfied with Pandit and expressed it before Janoji. Clive again sent Mir Zainul Abedin<sup>56</sup> as his Deputy to Nagpur court to bring Orissa under the Company's authority. Clive sent with Abedin some fine presents to the court of Nagpur to negotiate for cession of Orissa. The latter put forth his plan before the Committee thus: "With Januji it is our interest to be upon terms of friendship ..... We shall pay sixteen lakhs upon condition that he appoints the Company, Zamindar of Balasore and Cuttack countries which though at present of little or no advantage over balanced by the securities, we shall enjoy a free and open passage by land to and from Madras, all the countries between the two presidencies being under our influence but I would not by any means think of employing force to possess ourselves of those districts. The grant of them must come from him with his own consent and if that cannot be obtained we must settle the 'Chauth' upon the most moderate terms we can".<sup>57</sup>

The claim of Chauth by the Maratha Chief continued without any decision. Janoji Bhonsle wanted to solve it as he was handicapped by acute financial setback. He had to pay the arrear dues of his soldiers. He deputed Udepuri Gossain to Calcutta in 1767

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<sup>56</sup> C.P.C., Vol.II, No.221.

<sup>57</sup> Bengal Select Committee Consultations, 16 Jan., 1767.

to solve the long drawn affairs. Md. Rezakhan offered 13 lakhs of rupees on condition of cession of Orissa. But Gossain instead of 16 lakhs of rupees as annual payment was promised by Clive with a condition of cession of Orissa.<sup>58</sup>

An embassy which examined the feasibility of sources of revenue submitted a report that 16 to 17 lakhs could be collected from Orissa under a sound administration.<sup>59</sup> Sambhuji Ganesh wanted to shift the responsibility of 50,000<sup>60</sup> inactive and underpaid Maratha horse to the Company on hire which later on was utilised by the Company. Sambhuji Ganesh could not maintain good relation with Company any more. But he was the man who stationed a guard to lead the British troops to the pass of Rajghat in Balasore.<sup>61</sup>

#### Claim of Damodar Bhanja:

Chaudhuries of Belorachor (Vellora near Rajghat) protested and claimed that pretty long back 81 villages near Amarā fort were under the parganas of Belorachor<sup>62</sup> but Raja of Mayurbhanj Damodar Bhanja had occupied them forcibly and retained them. He held under him also 52 villages of Belorachor.

So in 1766-67 the Collector of Midnapore despatched two companies of sepoy with one Amin who delivered the possession of 81 villages along with 52 villages of Belorachor to the Chaudhuries of Belorachor.

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<sup>58</sup> Home Miscellaneous, Vol.33, Feb. 11, 1768, pp. 31-32, para-5.

<sup>59</sup> Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, July 14, 1767.

<sup>60</sup> C.P.C. II, 892.

<sup>61</sup> C.P.C. Vol.III, No.135 Home Misc. Vol.202(I), p.34.

<sup>62</sup> Vellora is near Rajghat Railway Station between Basta and Jaleswar station.

Damodar Bhanja, Raja of Mayurbhanj could not raise any opposition. At this time Maratha Chief wanted him as an ally for realisation of Chauth in Bengal.

Motte wrote that the Faujdary of Pipli was the first aversion from Mayurbhanj Zamindary and the next was that of Balasore. Since then, several taluks were taken from it and the Raja had no land eastward of the road. Sambhuji Ganesh<sup>63</sup> in his letter to Damodar Bhanj wrote that if the Chauth was not paid/then, Sambhuji Ganesh would station his troops in Gharpada near Rupsa<sup>64</sup>, and directed that Raja to join him with his force. Sambhuji Ganesh had kept an army consisting of 12,000 horses, 6,000 Burkundazes and 6,000 men with fire arms. But unfortunately Damodar Bhanj could not encamp at Gharpada near Rupsa of Balasore as it became difficult to feed the army since rice was very 'dear and scarce'.

This joint endeavour was a sufficient threat to the Company. The Company became alert and carried on preparations to face the onslaught. The Company guarded the artillery, of allied troops at Jellasore.

Madhoji Hari, Subedar of Cuttack wrote letter of protest to the Governor at Calcutta on 22 June 1773. He pointed out in his letter: "he has learnt from the Faujdar and Zamindar of Balasore that the gentleman at Midnapore has stationed scpoys

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<sup>63</sup> Chand, History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.15.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

at the fort of Bamangati which is the residence of Raja Damodar Bhoj<sup>65</sup> (Bhanj) and that he is likewise making encroachments on the dependencies of that Chaklash".

Bamanghati<sup>66</sup> was the capital and residence of Raja Damodar Bhanj from where British troops were threatening to attack Chakla of Balasore. Madhoji (Madhaji) not only apprised the Governor about this attack but asked him to tell the Collector of Midnapore not to go beyond Midnapore. In this period (1770-73) there was utter scarcity of rice in Calcutta and the Faujdar of Balasore, Abdullah Khan tried to meet the demand. Jonoji Bhonsle died in May 1777. The hostility between Maratha Government and the British continued after Jonoji's death. Rather the former struggled with the latter in the British territories. Damodar Bhanj, the Raja of Mayurbhanj had been trying long to get back his lost territories, i.e., Amarda estate and estates attached to the Chaudhuries of Belorachor (Vellora). He became indifferent to the East India Company and the Marathas. He put forward before Chinnajee an allegation that Chaudhuries of Belorachor were assisted by the Company's sepoys who had attached 81 villages of the Amarda Zamindari in his possession and within the Maratha Chakla of Balasore.

During Watt's tenure as the Resident of Midnapore (October 1764 to 1774) over a piece of land of Amarda estate there arose a dispute between Krishna Ballav Chaudhury (Kissen Bullab Chowdry) and Kamal Lochan. Kamal Lochan was an agent

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Chand<sup>65</sup> History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.22.

<sup>66</sup> Chand, op. cit. I., p.22.



of Damodar Bhanja.<sup>67</sup> Krishna Ballav Chowdhury based his claim on the ground that the land fell within the Company's territory. Kamal Lochan and his opponent contended that the land was within Maratha territory. Kamal Lochan intended to retain its possession with the armed assistance of the Faujdar of Balasore.<sup>68</sup> As the Faujdar supported the claim of Kamal Lochan, Damodar Bhanj sent his advocate Gobardhan Patanaik to the Naib Udaya Narayan to get back Amarda, Kanpur, Belorachar by legal means. The advocate told the latter: "The Kella of Kawanpore and Umarda and the duties of Multany have no connection with Beloorichour but are dependant on Balasore".<sup>69</sup> Zamindar of Belorachar said: "that the kellas and the places where the duties are collected were within the frontiers of Bellorichour".<sup>70</sup>

Kamal Lochan who dispossessed Krishna Ballabh Choudhury of a part of Amarda Estate was also dispossessed by Choudhuries of Belorachar who occupied the same land till March 1781. The Marathas pursued Damodar Bhanj to Beloorichar for evading the payment of his revenue. But the Company's force helped the Zamindars of Belorachar by removing the Marathas. Thus "the people of the English gentleman stationed there assisted the Zamindar and opposed force".<sup>71</sup>

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Chand<sup>67</sup>, History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, pp.24,25.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p.24.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.25

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

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Parley between Rajaram, Bhawani Pandit and Anderson at Balasore:

In the meantime, the Maratha Chief Chimnajee was warned by Warren Hastings, the Governor General against his undue interference in the English territory. Warren Hastings sent a detachment under Colonel Pearse to Balasore.<sup>72</sup> He reached Jaleswar on 6 February 1781. Then he came to Rajghat crossing the river Suvarnarekha. Then they proceeded to Balasore and reached there on 14 February 1781.

The Governor wanted to make a pact with him to evade such raids of Chimnajee. He sent Anderson, his special minister, to Balasore in this connection. The roads from Balasore to Cuttack were impassable. Hence Anderson took with him two or three sepoys from the Faujdar of Balasore on way to Cuttack as Chimnajee had left for Cuttack. From Cuttack, he left for Calcutta.

Again Anderson came to Balasore on 12 March 1781 to further continue the negotiation as the previous mission could not be fruitful. In Balasore he held discussion with Chimnajee, Rajaram Pandit and Bhawani Pandit. Anderson proposed 12 lakhs towards payment to Marathas on condition to stop Maratha excesses. But the Marathas declined as it was inadequate and they could exercise their right to collect Chauth. The mission failed.

At last the Marathas were given 13 lakhs and a loan of ten lakhs was advanced.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Letter of Warren Hastings, 11 March, 1781 to Anderson, his Agent in the camp of Chimnajee Babu near Balasore (Second son of Madhoji Bhonsle), Forrest op. cit. Vol.II, pp.242-243.

<sup>73</sup> G.W. Forrest (Ed.) Selection from State Papers Warren Hastings, Vol.II, p.256.

In the meantime Damodar Bhanj made attempts by sending a Vakil (Advocate) to Calcutta to submit a petition to the Governor General regarding his claim. But the Governor General remanded the matter to the lower court of Pierce, Collector, Midnapore who outrightly dismissed the case. A clash between the Maratha and Raja of Mayurbhanj at Belorachar on 13 Chaitra ( i.e., 22 March 1781) is thus described by R.P. Chand: "We the Choudhuries, Kanungoes and Zamindars of the Pargana Bheloorchour represent that the longerews of the Marhattah army having entered the province by the way of Bolissore and plundered the inhabitants of the said paraganas and of the Tuppeh of Mehomednagar we with the rest of the inhabitants being filled with fear ran away for safety to Amurdeh Ghur and Gauspore which again quitted upon report of the coming of Rajah Bhunje and have fled to the Pergunnah of Jellasure .... where we remain".<sup>74</sup>

The Raja of Mayurbhanj:

Two Europeans Messrs Samuel Clark and Stephen Shea while going to Calcutta from Balasore on 23 March faced trouble from the men of Raja of Mayurbhanja. This has been described in Indian Gazettee and Calcutta Public Advertiser of April, 1781 in the following words: "On the 23rd Ult. as Messrs Saml Clark and Stephen Shea were travelling in their planning (Palanquins) from Balasore to this place Calcutta they were stopped at a

<sup>74</sup> Chand, History of Mayurbhanj, 1761-1861, Part-I, p.31.

village between Basta and Jellasore by the Mohurbunja Rajah with a party of horse and foot and armed with planaguins (palanquins) to be runaged and informing them he was at war with the English, he very politely dismissed them, reserving to himself a handsome fowling piece and gold seal belonging to Mr. C. Which he said he took a fancy to."<sup>75</sup>

In May 1781 Chinnaaji left Orissa with 30,000 horsemen and money amounting to twelve lakhs of rupees towards the expenditure of his army and ten lakhs of rupees as loan. The same year in June Danodar Bhanj again started his hostility with the British from Ulmara, a place in the border of Balasore and Mayurbhanj when he was sure of Marathas absence from Balasore. On 26 June 1781, the Council of Revenue delegated the power to the Collector of Midnapore to probe into the case against the Raja of Mayurbhanj for his forcible retention of the parana. Belorechar alongwith three Postal (Ghats) Rajghat, Multani and Rani Sarei. Then Hanna Row was the Faujdar of Balasore.<sup>76</sup>

Major Mopherson was asked to help the Collector with force.<sup>77</sup> The Raja did not pay heed to the summon of the Collector of Midnapore and remained under the protection of the Faujdar of Balasore. He was so cunning that when the Company was against him, he took shelter under the Marathas and hid outside the Company's territory and sometimes also cheated the Marathas. He always tried to save his position either from the Marathas

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<sup>75</sup> Chand, History of Mayurbhanj, 1761-1861, Part-I, p.32 ; Benical Past and Present, XVI, p.37.

<sup>76</sup> Chand, History of Mayurbhanj, Vol.I (1761-1817), p.69.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

or the British by alternatively seeking shelter of both these powers respectively. Raja's claim over the aforesaid lands became the bone of contention between Raja and other two parties.

In July and August, 1781 Belorachar (Vellora) became a seat of struggle between Damodar Bhanj and the Company and Captain Pennick advanced to this place with 150 men. The Company force realised that it was an impassable task for them to expel the Raja and his force from the pargana of Belorachar.<sup>78</sup> The Raja used to raid the zamindar and tenants often.

Nayan Ghosh, the Tahasildar of Belorachar in a letter to the Collector of Midnapore expressed his inability to protect the tenants from the attack of the Raja.<sup>79</sup> The Raja had been persistently making attempts to recover the parganas. He also wrote to the Collector of Midnapore to settle the issue amicably on 15 August 1781.

As the Raja of Mayurbhanj was trying to bring under his control the territory of Belorachar, the Collector of Midnapore instructed Nana Rao Mukunda, the Faujdar of Balasore to take drastic measures against the Raja of Mayurbhanj and drive him out to Hariharpur and stop the Raja's attacks in Company's territories and ensures safety and security to the people of the parganas of Belorachar in Chakala Jellasore.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Chand., op. cit.

<sup>79</sup> Chand., History of Mayurbhanj - 1761-1861, Part-I, p.58.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

The Faujdar of Balasore soon sent a Vakil to the Governor General Warren Hastings to explain the issue. Even the Faujdar himself went to the Governor General who had left for upper India. The Faujdar came back from Midnapore to Balasore.<sup>81</sup> The Faujdar made a petition to the President of the Committee of Revenue. The Board of Revenue took exception to the representation made by the Faujdar over this affair and made an enquiry over the claims of the Faujdar of Balasore. The Board of Revenue thus wrote to the Faujdar of Balasore: "We have received your letter and authorise you to enquire into and settle the claim of the Faujdar of Balasore and Raja of Mayurbhanj reporting over proceedings to us." The Committee asked the Canoongo of Jaleswar one Jayanarayan to appear with official records.<sup>82</sup>

According to the Company's Officer, the pargana of Bellorachar was divided into two parts - One part of it consisted of 81 villages and the other of 52 villages. The British Officers named first half as Amarda Zamindary and the other half as Pargana Bellorachar.<sup>83</sup>

The Vakil (Advocate) of Raja of Mayurbhanj maintained that Amarda Zamindary was a part of the Raja's estate for a long time and that he used to pay its revenue to the Maratha Government. The revenue of the second half i.e. of 52 villages amounted to Rs.1036/-. After the death of the Nawab when the

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<sup>81</sup> History of Mayurbhanj 1761-1861, Part-I, p.38.

<sup>82</sup> Resolution of the Commissioner of Revenue, 12 Nov. 1781; History of Mayurbhanj, 1761-1861, Part-I, p.39.

<sup>83</sup> Chand., op. cit., Part-I, p.39.

second half came under the Raja's control, the English Government put pressure on the Raja for payment of its arrears. He decided by an agreement between the Raja and the Collector (Collector of Midnapore) the area of 52 villages was to be cleared from the rest of 81 villages. Afterwards, 81 villages were included with Midnapore by Collector of Midnapore in spite of the Raja's complaint.<sup>84</sup> The Governor General Warren Hastings in his letter proposed to bring the Rajah under one Government to prevent his collusion with the Maratha Government and stop his enjoyment of the rights of 81 villages. Further he added that as the river Suvernarekha formed the natural boundary, the parganas of the Company on western side of the river should be exchanged with parganas of the eastern side of the river. The Marathas Government declined to accept the proposal of Hastings. At first the Committee of revenue authorised Shore, the acting president to conduct an enquiry into the disputed issue of Bellorachar and Amarda Zamindary over which the Raja of Mayurbhanj, Dandor Bhanj claimed his rights and struggled so much.

Shore's report<sup>85</sup> was sent with Jaynarain Roy's petition to the Governor General and Council (28 March 1782) and further inquiry into the matter was conducted by Jonathan Duncan. He estimated Rs.1,036/-<sup>86</sup> as revenue for both 52 villages and 81 villages (paid by Chaudhuries of Velorachar). 81 villages bound

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<sup>84</sup> Chand., History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.39.

<sup>85</sup> Chand., ibid., Part-I, p.42.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 42-43.

to Amarda was the subject of dispute between the Raja Damodar Dhanj supported by the Maratha Government and the Chaudhuries of Belorachar supported by the Company.

The Board of Revenue (Governor General in Council) in their resolution, dated 13 July 1782 decided "that the territory of 81 villages of the pergunnah of Belorachar claimed by the Zemindar of Mohorbunj (Mayurbhanj) independently and exclusively of any right of superiority by this government ought not to be rejected."<sup>87</sup> The Company wrote to the Raja that they could not deprive the Zemindars of their properties, as they were Company's subjects. The Board of Revenue requested the Governor General to write to the Faujdar of Balasore, Nana Rao Mulunda and send a copy to his higher authority, Madhoji, Raja of Berar.<sup>88</sup>

Dybelly, the successor of Peierce as Collector of Midnapore wrote to the Committee of Revenue on 25 November 1783: "I have just received a letter from Captain Hamilton who commands at Jellasore in which he writes that 'report says that Mohurbunge Rajah is collecting a large force at Hariharpoie to plunder the Company's districts on the northward on opposite of Suvarnachha and that he is assisting the Duggrey (Burgee) Rajah against a battalion on the 16th. Regiment and I hear has marched. I wish to Mohurbunge Rajah may act as is reported as I believe Modagee (Madhojee Bhonsle) wishes (Rajah of Berar and Lord over Orissa)

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Chand, <sup>87</sup>History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.45.

<sup>88</sup>Calendar, Vol.VI, Nos.535-556.



to crush him and I flatter myself I should require little more assistance than two small guns to take his country".<sup>89</sup>

Chauvet was appointed as resident of Jellasore under Collector of Midnapore. He not only discharged the duty of revenue but tried to patch up the difference between the subjects of the Company and those of the Maratha Government. Rajaram Pandit the Maratha Subedar or Governor of Orissa was not happy with the decision of the Governor General and Council taken on the basis of Duncan's report. Chauvet apprised Damodar Bhanj that the decision of Board of Revenue was final and irrevocable.<sup>90</sup>

The Collector of Midnapore wrote to Major Macpherson on 10 July 1785 that he had received orders from the Board to bring under possession such districts that came under that province and that fell on both sides of the river Suvarnachhha. But as the Raja of Mayurbhanj forcibly occupied some villages of the pargana of Dellorachour (Velora) by his country force (three hundred pikes) it would be sufficient to deploy one Company of sepoys against him.

In order to fulfil his long cherished objective, the Rajah followed the policy of conciliation and submission according to the situation as he had to deal with two powerful forces - Marathas and British. It became difficult for both English and Marathas to tackle the Raja because he was a native

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Chand,<sup>89</sup> History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, pp.46-47.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p.51.

and by his clever manoeuvre he sided with one or the other and had himself either in Mayurbhanj or Balasore.

Faujdar - Bhawani Das Vs Gangadhar:

When Lord Cornwallis was the Governor General, Bhawani Das Chaudhury, the Faujdar of Balasore had troubles with a merchant of Balasore, named Gangadhar Adō (Adhya).

Gangadhar Adō (Adhya) was a merchant of Barabati, a place which was situated on the bank of Burabalang river in Balasore town. For a span of fifty to sixty years, he was staying in Company's factory in the town area. As a trader he had been regularly paying customary duties to the Faujdar of Balasore.<sup>91</sup> On one occasion loaded with rice, his vessel left for south. After the ship had sailed (Bay of Bengal), the Faujdar, Bhawani Das Chaudhuri enquired how Gangadhar's ship had sailed to sea ignoring his order. The Faujdar charged the trader with violation of order and defiance, and the Faujdar imposed on him the Bunder Mahasil tax even though the vessel had entered the sea. The trader had to pay 750 rupees.<sup>92</sup> Hence there was a straining of relation between the Faujdar and Gangadhar.

The trader Gangadhar had a godown (gola) of rice and another of paddy near Muleccoly which is now close to Gobgan village, 2 kilometres from Balasore town. Motiram, the nephew of Gangadhar, one day broke those godowns. The trader lodged

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<sup>91</sup> Translation of Persian Records ( to be abbreviated as T.P.R.), Received, September, 1792, No.36.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

a complaint of such highway hooliganism and lawlessness of the Faujdar, Bhewani Das Chaudhuri. The Faujdar gave the trader false hopes of getting back his amount for such grains.<sup>93</sup>

Strangely enough the Faujdar after the lapse of some days filed a counter complaint against the trader before Wilkinson, British Resident at Balasore, claiming a payment of a sum of Rs.50,000/- to the account of Murar Pandit and another sum of Rs.10,000/- to the account of Lalla Rajakishore Ray'. Wilkinson asked the trader for explanation. The trader maintained that nothing was due on him. Naturally, Faujdar was to prove the allegation. But he failed to do so. This led to bitter relation between the Faujdar and the trader. He employed his men for intimidation. Faujdar's men broke into Gangadhar's house, searched for him for extorting money. Fortunately, he was with Wilkinson at that moment.<sup>94</sup>

The Faujdar immediately sent Motiram to catch Gangadhar in the British factory. To utter surprise of Wilkinson, the trader was taken away by Motiram. This offended him. The trader was asked to pay an amount of Rs.25,000/-.

A peon asked the trader thus: "What do you look in such a moment. Agree to give 10,000 rupees and I will interpose to adjust all matters and if you do not commit to give this you will suffer great hardship and be compelled to pay the sum."

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<sup>93</sup> T.P.R., Received, Sept., 1792, No.360.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

He was subjected to various types of misbehaviour, reprimandation. As a result he finally agreed to pay an amount of 4,600 rupees. Then he was made free.<sup>95</sup>

Bhawani Das Removed:

The Maratha Officer, Bhawani Das adopted inimical attitude towards Wilkinson, when the latter showed sympathy to Gangadhar. The Faujdar stopped the dak (postal) to the British area and also stopped the sale of articles there.<sup>96</sup>

This matter was reported to the Governor General by Wilkinson. The Faujdar further interfered in the postal communication between Calcutta and Madras. Once again Gangadhar was seized by the Faujdar in presence of Wilkinson. Wilkinson objected to such types of inhuman treatment.<sup>97</sup>

After getting the letter of Wilkinson, Lord Cornwallis apprised Raghuji Bhonsle about the objectionable activities of the Faujdar of Balasore. He warned Raghuji that this sort of harassment to traders would definitely affect the realisation of revenue by Raghuji himself.<sup>98</sup> He vented that the Faujdar should be transferred and that he should also beg apology of Wilkinson. Governor General sent a detachment to Balasore to protect the British Factory.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> T.P.R., Received, Sept. 1792, No.360.

<sup>96</sup> T.P.R., Received, 3rd Sept., No.238.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ray, Orissa under the Marathas, p.62.

<sup>99</sup> T.P.R., Received, 3 Sept., 1792, No.238.

Raghuji Bhonsle ordered Rajaram Pandit to conduct an enquiry into such happenings. As a result of enquiry, the Faujdar was found guilty and was removed from the office of Balasore and Pataspur.<sup>100</sup> Bhalani Das Chaudhuri was displaced by Murar Pandit as the Faujdar of Balasore. Previously he had gathered experience staying for a span of ten to fifteen years at Balasore. In this period he maintained good relation with former resident of Balasore such as Wedasworth.

Gradually relation between Murar Pandit and British Resident Wilkinson became cordial as a result the body of troops that came for protection of British factory at Balasore was removed.<sup>101</sup>

#### British Owns Barabati Village:

The relationship of Marathas with the British improved when Sadasiv Rao succeeded his father Rajaram Pandit who died in 1793. Sadasiv was too friendly towards the British. When British Residency at Balasore was abolished, Barabati a village close to Burabalang river was retained by the British as Sadasiv relinquished his rights over it as a mark of friendship for the British.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> T.P.R., Received, 20 December, 1792., No.499.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., Nos.449, 538.

<sup>102</sup> Roy, Orissa under the Marathas, p.66.

### Mutiny in British Camp:

In 1795, a mutiny broke out in the British battalion stationed in Midnapore. The mutiny was ruthlessly suppressed. Some soldiers were killed and 160 of them secretly entered into Mayurbhanj and took refuge under the Raja of Mayurbhanj. The Raja did not surrender these fugitives in spite of the Company's requests. The British sought the help of Sadasiv Rao (1793-1803), Naib Subedar of Orissa who immediately asked the Raja to surrender the mutineers. He further ordered the Faujdar of Balasore to find out the mutineers and drive them out of the boundary of Mayurbhanj.

Ramananda Bhuyan, the Zaminder of Jamkunda in the Marhatta territory had a quarrel with the British authorities. Once while some Englishmen were stuck up in the river Suvarnarekha near Jamkunda due to a sudden storm, he plundered their properties. The British Government protested to the Marhatta Government against such outrageous activity of the Zamindar. Finally at Gopiballavpur, the Zamindar of Jamkunda was arrested by the British authorities. But because of the intervention of Sadasiv Rao, he was released.

Damodar Bhanj died in 1796.<sup>105</sup> At that time, Moro Pandit (Murar Pandit) was the Faujdar of Balasore. The death of Damodar Bhanj was followed by a dispute over the succession to the throne of Mayurbhanj. One Tribikram Bhanja became a claimant for the

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<sup>103</sup> Chand History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.59.

throne and sought the help of the Maratha Faujdar of Balasore for securing the throne. Rani Sunitra Bhanja, the widow of Ramodar Bhanja also sought the help of the Faujdar and promised him financial rewards in return.

Tribikram Bhanj came to Baripada with an army, but when he heard that a Maratha force from Balasore was advancing towards Baripada to confront them he fled to upper part of Mayurbhanj. He sent two Vakeels to Balasore to advocate his cause.

Captain Morgan landed at Balasore on 21 September 1803. After a confrontation, he occupied Balasore on 22 September 1803.<sup>104</sup> When the Rani's force led by her adopted son Bikram Bhanj fled from Mayurbhanj, some possessions on the State on the Balasore side specially Khuntaghat<sup>105</sup> were captured by the Maratha Faujdar of Balasore with a force of 500.

Trivikram Bhanj tried to recover Khuntaghat. But a report of Govind Ram<sup>106</sup> who was posted in charge of Dawke (Dak) in Jellasore confirms that a short skirmish took place for two hours between the Maratha force and Raja's (Tikait Baboo) force on 28 August at the Ghat which was heard by Nabab Jamadar who was with his men at Basta.

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Chand, <sup>104</sup>History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I., pp.69-88.

<sup>105</sup>Near Raibaria Gram Panchayat, border of Talasore;  
History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.76.

Chand<sup>106</sup>History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.76.

The road between Narasinghpur and Basta became unsafe for pedestrians and also for the moving of Company's Dak at night. He adds: "the Faujdar of Balasore was levying men in the passes of Narasinghpur and Bastoe with the intention of occupying the passes".<sup>107</sup>

In the meantime Rani Sumitra Devi remained under the protection of the Collector of Midnapore and to her good fortune, her enemy Trivikram Bhanj developed hostile relation with the Faujdar of Balasore.<sup>108</sup> The report of Govind Ram who was in charge of Postal Office in Jaleswar (Dak) confirms a war between Trivikram Bhanj and Faujdar of Balasore.<sup>109</sup>

The Faujdar of Balasore received as Chauth of Rs.4,000/- from Mayurbhanj estate. Even a Sanad from Nerkjee (Ekoji Sook Deo) Sukdev (Naib of the Subadar of the Province) informs about the duties on wood in Bunder (port) Balasore that were collected by Maratha.<sup>110</sup> Two places on the road between Jellasore (Jaleswar) and Balasore that paid land revenue appeared to have been held 'Khaus' by the Faujdar of Balasore.

Trivikram Bhanj as Teckoit made collections from the inhabitants for two months with a force of 400 armed men but all fled when a detachment of 2 companies of sapsys

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<sup>107</sup> India Office, K.C. Neogy's Collections.

<sup>108</sup> Chand, History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.39.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p.38.



advanced from Balasore in last part of November 1803.<sup>111</sup>

Some historians have characterized the Maratha rule in Orissa as a misrule. During their rule of half a century (1751-1803) the public security was in jeopardy.<sup>112</sup> In economic field an important section of the society called the weavers which supplied to the native people as well as foreign merchants cloths of various types were hardpressed by heavy demands of abwabs, tolls, customs duty on raw goods. Most of the weavers left Balasore for different districts of Bengal such as Bankura, Midnapore, Birbhum. Even some of the weavers out of fear took shelter inside the walls of the English factories at Balasore. Complaints were lodged by Company's Officers against the Maratha Subedars. The oppression of Bargees (as the Maratha soldiers were called) has been vividly described in Lachhana, a work by Fakir Mohan Senapati, the famous Oriya novelist of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Care Basil in his article 'Balasore the forgotten' writes, people of Balasore "groaned under the iron heel of the Maratha conquerors. Bands of brutal soldiery wandered through the countryside plundering merchants and peasants alike on the pretext of collecting revenue. Those who resisted them were dealt with ruthlessly. They were tied to the heels of horses and dragged through the town. Others were smeared with

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<sup>111</sup> Ghand, History of Mayurbhanj, Part-I, p.86.

<sup>112</sup> Asiatic Researches Vol.XV, P.362-83, No.1477, 1481-83.

molasses and left exposed to the attacks of ants and poisonous insects. The very name Maratha became synonymous with oppression and cruelty."<sup>113</sup>

O'Malley gives the following description of Maratha misrule in the Balasore district Gazetteer: "They were not blood thirsty, their objects being merely plunder. All cases were tried verbally, no record of any kind being kept and culprits were sentenced to be tied to the heels of a horse which was then flogged through the streets, others were bound smeared with sugar, and exposed to the attacks of ants and other insects. Others again had their fingers tied together and wedges of iron inserted between them. It is small matter for wonder that to this day the peasant's name for anarchy and oppression is Maratha Alal."

G.E. Toynebee in his 'A sketch of the History of Orissa' has attributed the decline of trade in Balasore to the Maratha misrule in the following words: "From the fact that the Dutch, French, Danes and English all established factories there about the middle of the seventeenth century, it is evident that Orissa was once a province of more commercial importance than when we took it .... The incursions and oppressions of the Marathas put an end to whatever commercial prosperity the province may once have possessed."

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<sup>113</sup> The Sunday Statesman, March 9, 1958.

A. Stirling writes that Maratha rule was 'fatal to the welfare of the people' .... exhibits a picture of mis rule, anarchy, weakness rapacity and violence. He adds: 'If the people did not at once pay they were first beaten with sticks and if that would not do, they were afterwards tortured.'

Relics of the Maratha Period:

Even after the lapse of 165 years since the defeat of the Marathas in 1803, some places in Balasore town and district reminds the people of the past rule of Marathas. In conversations the people use the word 'Marhatti' (i.e. Maratha) as meaning conservative or outdated. A place near Rupsa, about 25 kilometres from Balasore is called Habib Ganj after Mir Habib, the Maratha Governor of Orissa.

Some parts of the Balasore town such as Bhaskarganj, Januganj and Motiganj are named after the Maratha officers. The officers were Bhaskar Pandit, Janoji Bhonsle, Motiram respectively. Bhaskarganj is near Railway station, Januganj is between Balasore and Remuna that falls on the National Highway No.5. Motiganj is near Balasore Municipality.

Lala Bazar (Mala Bazar) close to Nurpur Road near Motiganj was named after Lala Kishore Raja who is said to have founded it. Motiganj, the most important market place in Balasore was founded by Lala Motiram Ray Dadu (1785-90).<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> L.S.S.O'Malley, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.64.

He was a Maratha Officer in 18th century. He used to stay near Jagannath Temple in Motiganj. The use of title 'Pandit' and 'Jee'<sup>115</sup> by some people in the Balasore town and Rasulpur area are reminiscent of the Maratha administrators like Bhaskar Pandit and Janoji Bhonsle.

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with 'Debajee' 'Jagannath Jee' of Rasulpur, Balasore on 27.8.86.

### CHAPTER - III

#### BRITISH OCCUPATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF ADMINISTRATION

The English traders first came to Balasore in 1633. As their trading activities grew, Balasore rose to prominence as a seat of sea-borne trade. Ralph Cartwright started the first English settlement in Balasore on 16 June 1633. This settlement grew up on the bank of the river Budhabalang. In 1636, Francis Poy saved this establishment from being abandoned. The English East India Company had to carry on its commercial activities at Balasore in the face of competition and rivalry from other European merchants and opposition from Mughals, Nawab of Bengal and Marathas.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb the English factory at Balasore remained closed for sometime. In 1690, the English could reopen their factory at Balasore when Aurangzeb granted a new firman. In 1765 the East India Company got its Diwani Right (the right to collect revenue) in Orissa

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<sup>1</sup> Wilson, Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 106-108; District Gazetteer, Balasore, pp. 61-62.

as a result of the grant from the Mughol Emperor from Shah Alam. But practically the English could not enforce their authority over Orissa because of the hold of the Marathas. The English tactfully managed the issue of Chauth with the Marathas. As the Maratha's position became weak, in 1803 during the Anglo-Maratha hostilities the English decided to occupy Orissa.

March of British troops for the Conquest of Orissa in 1803:

On 30 August 1803 when the British came to know of the march of the Maratha forces from Nagpur, a regiment consisting of 500 Bengal native volunteers<sup>2</sup> was ordered to march under the command of Captain Dick to join the main troops at Ganjam. From Ganjam Lieutenant Campbell of His Majesty's 74 regiment, commanding the northern division of the army carried 1500 native troops with him for an invasion of Cuttack. But unfortunately Campbell fell indisposed. So he handed over the command to Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt of His Majesty's 12 Regiment as instructed by Lord Wellesley. Melville also joined the campaign. In order to weaken the position and influence of Marathas in Orissa Melville spread a rumour that the Maratha Chief had already delivered the land to the British in writing.

At this grave hour, Balasore became the theatre of stiff struggle between the Maratha and the British forces. The Maratha Chief of Balasore posted guards at such strategic points as

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<sup>2</sup> 31 August, 1803 Government to Campbell, Bengal Secret and political Consultation ; 1 March, 1804, No. 51; 30 August, 1803, Govt. to Harcourt, Add., L.E.S. 13698, p.11.

Luzurghat, Farasinghpur, Ranchendrapur and Phalwarass (Lhulali) as well as outposts of the northern belt. The troops posted at these places consisted of about 1,000 matchlockmen, 100 Horse (cavalry) and a number of Pains.<sup>3</sup> The Larabati fort was their main military station.

#### Expedition to Balasore:

To divide and weaken the Maratha force and facilitate the advance of the British army, the British adopted a clever strategy. A Detachment of 6,216 Bengal troops began to move. Out of this detachment, 854 were stationed at Jallasore that would move towards Cuttack. A body of 521 was heading to possess Balasore and a body of 1,300 proceeded to Midnapore to support the force at Jallasore and Balasore. This force would defend the frontier and resist the Rajah's incursion. They diverted the attention of the Marathas from Cuttack by despatching another detachment from Calcutta to Balasore by sea. This resulted in opening communication between Jallasore and Balasore; and Jallasore and Cuttack. This also enabled the coordination of the British troops in the north and south.

Captain Hargan the Commander of 15th Bengal Native Infantry took over the command of this force.<sup>4</sup> It consisted of 5 companies of volunteers, 500 native troops, 21 artillery men,

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<sup>3</sup> Add. M.S.S., 13609, pp. 43-5 (a report from Bhagwan Malik, Kotwal of the Company's factory at Balasore, 10 date).

<sup>4</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.65.

one artillery officer, 6 pounders, lashkars, and one Assistant Surgeon.<sup>5</sup> One Mahomedan Subedar, the body guard of the Governor General joined the party of Captain Morgan to create defection among the Pathan soldiers working under the Marichas in Orissa.

Morgan takes Balasore:

To enlist the co-operation of natives for the success of his campaign, Morgan adopted an attitude of goodwill and generosity towards them.

Morgan had left Kedegree in Bengal with the fleet full of 1,000 men on 14 September 1803.<sup>6</sup> As the wind blowing from opposite direction obstructed his fleet, he could not reach the destination as calculated earlier. Big vessels could not come ashore as there was water two feet deep at the low tide and 10 feet deep at high tide at the entrance of the river Budhabalang (Burabalang).

On 16 September, George Wright was sent to examine the position of water on the bank side and the possibility of getting a local pilot who had acquainted with such situations. When he approached the Balaramgarhi<sup>7</sup> Company house site which was

<sup>5</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.65; 6 Sept., 1803. Govt. to Morgan; Bengal Secret and Political Consultations., 1 March 1804, No.209, 7 Sept., 1803.

<sup>6</sup> The fleet consisted of Alexander, George, Charles, Lizard, Anne and two long boats. Letter 4 Oct., 1803. Shores to E. Lowe, Commander of Company's Cruiser *Toughmouth*, Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 27 Oct., 1803.

<sup>7</sup> The place where the river Budhabalang meets the Bay of Bengal.



adjacent to the Maratha Post of Infantry, its guard raised doubt about his identity and shot point blank at the Company's boat. Night, however, came back safe and unwounded. He could get through a channel with some vessels but the bigger two - Alexander and Anne lay at the bay. Another vessel named Lizard stuck up as it was overladden. With a small company of armed men he marched to the opposite side of Bilrangarha on 20 September 1803.<sup>8</sup> There instead of becoming hostile, the villagers supplied some local pilots. But their attempts failed because of heavy showers and darkness. They were detained throughout the day.<sup>9</sup>

On 21 September, Captain Morgan got the information that the Marathas decided that if they could not defend the Balasore town, they could destroy it. No sooner had Captain Morgan heard of this than he left the vessel and accompanied with escort and equipped with 300 armed men, two six pounders he came along the river for two hours and landed at a high place, ~~34~~ miles away from the Balasore town. The place was Jampada village (Gabaan village), close to old Balasore ( French Balasore or Farasidinga) and 3 kilometres away from the present Balasore town.<sup>10</sup> Then Prahlad Naik was the Zamindar of Balasore. He supplied the British troops with food as the latter suffered

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<sup>8</sup> 20 Sept., 1803, Morgan to Government, Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 1 March, 1804, No. 218; 22 Sept., 1803, Morgan to Government, Secret Political Consultation, March 1804, No. 19.

<sup>9</sup> 20 Sept., 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 1 March, 1804, No. 218.

<sup>10</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p. 65.

from food scarcity. After marching in knee deep water in the paddy fields they entered into the town near Parabati and Ballihat with 300 army men without meeting any opposition.<sup>11</sup> They waited in ambush in the town. Even then they faced resistance which they could overcome.

At that time More Pandit was the Faujdar of Balasore. Captain Morgan tried to win him. Morgan's plan leaked out and the Marathas confined More Pandit in a Fort outside the town near the gola so that the British would not be able to seduce More Pandit. They selected a high place from which they would launch the offensive against the enemy. There were some old buildings which could accommodate 400/500 persons.<sup>12</sup> The Maratha infantry and cavalry guarded the area from the town to the factory house.<sup>13</sup>

The fight took place near the Balasore town at Ballihat on the bank of river Eurbalang. There were only a few casualties in the battle. About 12 Marathas were killed. One English soldier died.<sup>14</sup> Marathas hurled fire on the British from top of the house from lane etc. but that could not check the advance of the irresistible British troops. The British troops occupied the factory house (which had been occupied by the Faujdar earlier)

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<sup>11</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.65.

<sup>12</sup> 23 September, 1803, Morgan to Government of Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 1 March, 1804, No.220.

<sup>13</sup> 22 September, 1803, Morgan to Government of Bengal Secret and Political Consultations, 1 March 1804, No.219.

<sup>14</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.66.

after a long drawn struggle and also the 'Maratha fort',<sup>15</sup> in the town with little land on the British side. On 21 September 1803, the British expelled all the Marathas from Balasore town area. The Marathas fled.

The English signalised their victory by the beating of drums and assured the natives peaceful living. At Balasore, Marathas left two chests of valuable papers concerning administration, some broken carriages and some guns.<sup>16</sup> Captain Morgan chastised the Marathas in the neighbourhood and Lieutenant Tanner drove away a band of Marathas from the village Namioch which was eight miles from Balasore. After the Marathas had completely left for Deoghar, Tanner came back to Balasore.<sup>17</sup> Soon thereafter, a drum was beaten in the market with an announcement that the British had occupied Balasore and would protect those who behaved peacefully.<sup>18</sup>

From a despatch of Marquis Wellesly, we come to know that "the inhabitants afforded every assistance to British troops on their march and expressed the utmost satisfaction in the prospect of being speedily relieved from oppressions to which they had been uniformly subjected by the Maratha Government and of being placed under the protection of British power."

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<sup>15</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.66

<sup>16</sup> 22 Sept., 1803, Morgan to Govt., Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 1 March, 1804, No.210 ; Uttal Sahitya, 21 Part, 21 Vol., 5th Issue, p.216.

<sup>17</sup> 17 Sept., Tanner to Morgan, Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 1 March, 1804, No.225.

<sup>18</sup> Uttal Sahitya, 21 Part, 21 Vol., 5th Issue, p.216.

### Battle in South Balasore:

The defeated Marathas had blocked the road from Balasore to Suranga. Consequently, the British 'daks' could not be easily sent to south Balasore. With two Companies Captain Slys defeated the Marathas at (Bahanaola) Begunia, a place in southern Balasore, which was 22 kilometres away from the Balasore town. Many were wounded and a few were killed. Slys marched southward and reached Dhamnagar. At Dhamnagar, he heard that 2,000 to 3,000 Marathas had gathered at Suranga. Foot immediately rushed to join him with a detachment at the instruction of Morgan. As the English army marched, the Marathas left Bhadrak for Jajpur. But when they heard of Harcourt's advance, they fled towards Darabati fort in Cuttack.

After occupying Balasore, the Marathas posted troops in the town for its security. The road between Balasore and Cuttack was made free from Marathas loot and plunder.

In order to make Balasore free from Maratha invasion in future one detachment was posted to guard the northern border and another was posted to remove the blockade between Balasore and Cuttack and keep the route between Jaleswar and Cuttack free from all hindrances. Now it was Harcourt, under whom the main force worked to sack and destroy the Marathas completely. As instructed and later on reinforced by the Governor General, Colonel Ferguson marched from Jaleswar on 23 September with another detachment.<sup>19</sup> On the way he heard of Morgan's occupation

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<sup>19</sup> Archibald Ferguson, Colonel 24, Bengal Native Infantry, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.66.

of Balasore and reached Balasore on 4 October without facing any opposition.<sup>20</sup> He left Balasore for Cuttack on 10 October. The same day, a detachment of 816 men advanced from Balasore by order of the Governor General to help Lt. Colonel Harcourt to occupy Cuttack.<sup>21</sup>

Suppression of Marathas in Northern Parganas:

The united and coordinated efforts of Harcourt, Morgan and Ferguson brought under the British the Maratha territories between Ganjam and Balasore. But yet Maratha depredations continued in the areas to the north-east of the Subarnarekha river such as Pataspur, Shahbunder, Kamarda, Bhograi, Raichand and Khirchand.

A proclamation was issued by T.H. Ernest, the Acting Magistrate of Midnapore. It promised protection to those zamindars who would surrender of their own accord. Some zamindars surrendered to the British authorities but Ramanand Bhuyan of Jankunda remained adamant for sometime.

Captain Lamb of 5th Regiment proceeded with a battalion to occupy Kamarda, Pataspur, Bhograi, Shahbunder parganas and post policemen and Tahasildars in those parganas. Defeated by Lt. Cooper, Raghunath Paikara, the Zamindar of Khirchand, fled to the forests. The British occupied his land on both sides of the river Subarnarekha. Ramananda Bhuyan surrendered to Lamb and was sent to Midnapore as a prisoner.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Chand, History of Mayurbhanj, p.I., p.76.

<sup>21</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.66.

<sup>22</sup> 4 November, 1803, Ernest to Fenwick, Bengal Secret and Political Consultation, 29 December 1803, No.418, 17 Nov'1803.

Thus the territories in the north-east of Subarnarekha came under the control of British. The British had deployed 4,916 soldiers in Orissa.<sup>23</sup>

The treaty of 1803 and Annexation of Orissa by the English:

On 30 November, 1803 after the collapse of Maratha rule in Orissa, Jaswant Rao Ramchandra, the representative of the Raja of Berar met Arthur Wellesley at Deogan. After the discussion of the terms of the treaty, the Maratha representative finally agreed to leave Orissa soil including the port and district of Balasore. The terms of the treaty were written on 16 December 1803 and both the parties signed the treaty on following day the 17 December 1803. Orissa finally came under the British rule after a complete elimination of Maratha presence in Orissa. The British in their four ~~Pyonged~~ campaign occupied southern, eastern, northern and western parts of Orissa. The easy conquest of Orissa by the English was due to their military superiority, sound strategy and shrewd diplomacy. British takeover of the province of Orissa, Balasore remained under Captain Morgan for some time. A regiment of 300/400 men was then posted at Jajpur and Bhadrak. The same number of men were stationed at Balasore.

The Orissa province had passed through misrule of the Marathas for the span of half a century before coming under the British. During this period, the Marathas collected revenue as the de facto ruler though the East India Company was legally

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<sup>23</sup>Bengal Papers relating to the Maratha War in 1803, p.244.

entitled to collect revenue as per the grant of Diwani by the languishing Mughal Emperor Shah Alam. The Company wanted to collect the entire revenue of Orissa by giving a lump sum to the Marathas as Orissa was practically ruled by the latter. The division in collection resulted in conflicts. To add to them was the claim of Raja of Mayurbhanj, Denodhar Bhanj over some parganas of Balasore. He became an enemy of both Marathas and the Company. To achieve his end, he sometimes sided with the English and sometimes with the Marathas. Balasore became a battle ground among them because of its geographical location. The war of 1803 decided the fate of the province. Marathas were brushed aside. The Raja of Mayurbhanj could no longer dare to claim any territory in Balasore district after the establishment of the English rule.

After a period of chaotic Maratha rule, Orissa appeared to be heading towards a more stable administration after 1803. The Marathas wanted in their period only revenue collection from Orissa for their homeland without paying attention to the welfare of the province. After the British takeover in 1803, Captain Morgan remained in charge of the district of Balasore, initially as Commanding Officer and afterwards as Collector, Magistrate and Salt and Customs Agent.<sup>24</sup>

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District Gazetteer, Balasore, pp. 66-67.

### Early Commissions

Compared to the Marathas a better system of administration was introduced by the East India Company in Balasore as in the rest of Orissa. In the later half of the month of December 1803, two Commissioners namely; Colonel George Harcourt and John Melville devoted themselves to settle the unsystematic revenue affairs of the newly acquired province of Orissa. Moghulbandi became their main concern. The period of Company's administration in Orissa from 1804 to 1858 can be divided into two phases, one from 1804 to 1822 and another from 1822 to 1858. People could not live peacefully in the previous years of British takeover. In 1804 the Company did not bring any radical change in the matter of revenue collection of the province.

### Northern Division:

Orissa was divided into two divisions such as northern and southern with Mahanadi river as the boundary between both. These two divisions were formed according to the temporary regulation of May 4, 1804. A Judge-cum-Magistrate was appointed for each division who was also assigned the duty of collection of revenue. Captain Morgan made over charge to Robert Ker in 1804.<sup>25</sup> Robert Ker and Charles Greene became Judges-cum-Magistrates and Collectors of northern and southern divisions respectively.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.67.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.



Land revenue settlement of Mogulbandi area was made according to the regulation of September 16, 1804.<sup>27</sup> The settlement was made for short terms. Land settlement in 1804-5 was made with either the Zamindar or with actual proprietor for one year only, then for 3 years (1805-8), 4 years (1808-12) and 3 years (1812-15) successively.

In 1805, the offices of the special Commissioner in Orissa were abolished and were removed to Calcutta. Henceforward the Board of Revenue in Fort William, Calcutta was to supervise the revenue affairs of Orissa.

In 1805 both northern and southern divisions were united and placed under one 'Collector'. Puri remained the headquarters of the Collector up to 1816. Attempts to shift the headquarters to Jajpur situated on the border of Balasore did not materialise. George Webb became the Collector of the whole of Orissa. R. Ker became the Judge and Magistrate of the entire province and for a short period remained in-charge of salt department till 1805 when J. King became the first salt Agent of Orissa. Tahasildars were posted at Balasore and Jajpur.<sup>28</sup> The records that supply us information about the revenue matters were mainly written in Oriya, Persian and English.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Toynbee, A Sketch of the History of Orissa, p.32.

<sup>28</sup> 4 May, 1804, Government to Melville and Hartcourt, Civil Judicial Consultations, 8 Sept., 1805, No.23 (vide No.26)

Hunter, <sup>29</sup> Orissa, II. Appendix-IV, p.144.

During the period of the Maratha and their predecessor, revenue demands were made on the amount of land actually under cultivation. Consequently, the cultivable land decreased during their time as is known from the realisation of revenue in the province in different years.

Within 25 years since 1803 some radical but systematic changes were carried out in administration to make revenue administration judicious and efficient. In 1814 steps were taken to shift the revenue headquarters to Cuttack to discharge sales and revenue accounts but this measure failed and the Collector came back to Puri in the month of December the same year. At this stage some Zamindars made an appeal to the British authorities for the shifting of collectorate to Cuttack which had enjoyed political and administrative eminence. But this appeal was turned down during the days of Mughals and Marathas by Trower. Balasore, Soro and Basta thanas remained under one Joint Magistrate from 1815 to 1817.

Due to failure of crops the Oriya Proprietors were unable to pay up the revenue for which their estates were sold out. In 1816, 53 Zamindars lost their estates.

In 1818, Robert Ker became the first Commissioner in Cuttack. From 1817 to 1820 the charge of the Joint Magistrate was vested in the Assistant Magistrate. In 1817 Subarnarekha river was recognised as the administrative boundary between Orissa and Midnapore.

Balasore was managed from Cuttack from 18 July 1805 to August 1821<sup>30</sup> and had no separate Revenue Officer. A Joint Magistrate was appointed in Balasore in 1821. He tried Criminal cases and also discharged the functions of Superintendent of Police.<sup>31</sup> In 1824 on the advice of the Commissioner, the Governor General approved the creation of Balasore Division.

An office of the Commissioner started functioning for the first time from 1818 by the Regulation I of 1818 carrying the powers of Revenue Board, Board of Trade, Provincial Court of circuit and committee of embankments. Ker who was the first Judge of Cuttack and Collector of northern Division in 1805 was assigned this post.

In 1827 Balasore became an independent Collectorate<sup>32</sup> and Bhadrak and Jajpur were attached to it in 1828. In 1828, three <sup>Separate</sup> districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri were formed. Rickett became the Collector of Balasore and Bhadrak in 1826. Baitarani river was recognised as the administrative boundary between Balasore and Cuttack division. The province of Orissa took a new form on 23 October, 1828 as per the order of the Government. Mogulbandi portion of Orissa was divided into three districts - Northern Balasore Division, Southern or Puri Division and Central or Cuttack Division (Messrs H. Ricketts, W. Wilkinson and R. Hunter were appointed as Collectors and Magistrates in

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<sup>30</sup> District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.67.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p.68.

<sup>32</sup> In 1827, Balasore district Collectorate Office was held in a building near bag Brundaban Tank. But it was burnt by lightning. Subsequently, it was shifted to present site which is close to Railway Station site in 1901 in front of Collector's Bungalow, District Gazetteer, p.67.

three such districts respectively. In Balasore a single officer was assigned the duty of Collector, Salt Agent, Magistrate and Custom Officer. He also discharged the functions of Registrar, Civil Court. By the Regulation I of 1828, Cuttack was declared the 19th Commissionership of revenue and circuit and it comprised Cuttack, Khurda, Balasore, Midnapore and Nuagaon and Hidgellee. The Commissioner's powers were equal to that of Board of Revenue, Court of wards (subject to the control of Sudder Board of Revenue) and a court of circuit.

In 1837, 1858, 1865, and 1868 there were transfers of fiscal divisions between the Balasore and Midnapore districts. Therefore, the Collector of Balasore complained that repeated transfer of the fiscal divisions backwards and forwards for three times between Midnapore and Balasore created some mismanagement in administration.

#### Sale Law:

From 1805-6 to 1813-18, the picture of the revenue collection shows the fall in the annual demand. Estates were sold more than once a year. For instance a land was sold seven times in four years, another for six times during the same period,<sup>33</sup> another thrice in three years, another four times in five years. The sale law by the British Government was intentional and most harmful. The English Settlement Officer, S.L. Maddox has made the following observation on the sale law: "the introduction and enforcement of Revenue Sale law Perhaps

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<sup>33</sup> A Sketch of the History of Orissa, pp. 11, 57., OORJ.

most unfortunate feature of our early rule. I am unable to give precise figures of the sales but it may be estimated that at least half of the estate in the district changed hands between 1805-1822 and the policy was certainly disastrous as regards the old hereditary official families very few of whom were left at the last settlement".<sup>34</sup>

The officers in the Board of Revenue in Bengal adopted unfair means to obtain estates in Orissa. By obvious methods of intrigue they were enabled first to bring the estates upon the sale list and then to purchase them by a (Benami) transactions at the auction". To stop such illegal interference and harassment of the Amla, the Board in its order of 1813 directed to receive only 'sealed tenders' in case of purchase of such estates.

Harassment to Oriya Proprietors and Advantages of Bengalee Amlas:

Frequent sale of estates meant threats to the existence of the Oriya proprietors. According to Ewer, two thirds of Oriya Proprietors suffered as a result of frequent sale of estates.<sup>35</sup> Estates bearing a Sadar Jama of more than Rs.5,000/- were put to auction at the office of the Revenue Board in Calcutta. Rarely an Oriya Proprietor could make arrangements by his agent at Calcutta for an appearance during such sale in Calcutta to safeguard his interests and hence their absence automatically helped the rich Bengalees and Amlas to purchase the estates.

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<sup>34</sup>Maddox Report, Vol.I, Appendices, pp. 430-31.

<sup>35</sup>C. Toynbee, A Brief Sketch of History of Orissa, p.51; Maddox Report, Vol.II, p.431.

Estates were sold for part of the real value and majority of estates were purchased by outsiders.

The Bengalees wanted to migrate to Orissa as it was easier for them to get <sup>lands</sup> at very low rates with the purchase deed at hand. The estate owners who hailed from Bengal did not usually manage such estates by themselves. They appointed their dear and near ones or their agents instead to look after such estates. The Oriya proprietors were flexible in realising revenue nor did they go against the rights of the subordinate tenure holders.

The Bengalee Zamindars followed a disgraceful policy of encroachment. They encroached upon the neighbouring landed properties of the natives of Balasore and Orissa at large. The Oriya Proprietors were dispossessed of their estates for no fault of theirs due to fraud played by native officers of Government to purchase lands at public sale.<sup>36</sup> The Oriya proprietors could dare not raise any voice against such illegal occupation as they were no equal to those agents in far off Calcutta Court who in collusion with Amils of the Court established their rights over property as legal. In such a case the weak Oriya proprietor was bound to sell his property and became landless and ultimately suffered from utter penury. As a result after 1828, there was an influx of Bengalee Zamindars to the Balasore district. Not only the greed of occupation of

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<sup>36</sup> Early British Administration, OMEJ., Vol.III, No.2.

land but the trade of Balasore attracted them. Trade interest and easy purchase of estates in Calcutta Board led to acquisition of estates in Balasore. Thus "Balasore was thrown open to them in 1828 the opportunity was gone for the extensive scheming that had taken place in Calcutta."<sup>37</sup>

Bengalees came in large numbers from different places of Bengal to Balasore. They are seen now in Barabati, Manikhab, Makalpur and Sunhat areas. Some of the descendants of the revenue officials such as Kanungo at the time of Mughals are also seen at Bhadrak, Soro, Jaleswar. They are Mahasay families of Kaupur, Kodarpur(Soro) and Lakshannath (north Balasore). There is a Dewan para near Sunhat where a number of Bengalee families had established themselves. Probably they came to Balasore in connection with revenue matters. There is another place called Dewan Patana, close to the former Korumar (Sunhat) inhabited by Oriyas.

Many Bengalees also came to Balasore being appointed by the Board at Calcutta. The Nazir and Buxi made their fortunes from Zamindars. In the year 1821, the Collector of Balasore wrote that scarcely a single Oriya received a salary of more than Rs.10.00 per month, whereas the domiciled Bengalees and Muhammedans got more than Rs.10/- per month.

<sup>37</sup> Maddox Report, Vol.II., p.431.

<sup>38</sup> (pronunciation)  
Pada (Para) is used in Bengalee whereas Patana is an Oriya word.

### Cowri:

Cowri was the medium of exchange till 1808 ( in accounts and granting leases). Silver rupee became the standard currency of the province when use of Cowri was abolished.

The depreciation in the value of Cowri made it clear that Government Treasury would not receive Cowri as a medium of exchange, so long in vogue, after the date of its expiry. There was a sudden fall in the transaction of such currency as it was the only medium of the poor classes. This was taken as a plea by the money lenders to force cowries on zamindars at higher rates of exchange for which ryots also suffered in the hands of zamindars. Land-holders demanded land tax in terms of silver and fixed the value of one rupee equal to 5,120 Cowries.<sup>39</sup> Even though copper currency became the medium of exchange from 1808 instead of Cowries, the use of Cowri was prevalent in villages, zamindari accounts, execution of leases. Its use stopped forty years after the introduction of copper currency.

### The Rural Scene of the Balasore Town in the Nineteenth Century:

Balasore which was the headquarters of the district as well as famous for the 'Port' presented a picture of village life. "In spite of its mercantile character, village life goes on in the heart of the town just as it does in the remotest homestead. The cows are driven forth in the morning and struggle back to the sound of a conchshell at sunset. In harvest time

<sup>39</sup>

One Gonda means	=	4 numbers		
One Pan	=	20 gonda	20 x 4 =	80 nos.
One Kahan	=	16 pan	16 x 80 =	1280 nos. 1280
Four Kahan			1280 x 4 =	5120 nos.



the hot breath of the bullocks trading out the grain into the face of the passerby along the streets and bus citizens pile up the old fashioned Uriya rice stocks within sight of the market place. The small town in Orissa looked like collections of hamlets".<sup>40</sup> As regards the migration of rural population, it is revealed thus "while the rural population has doubled, the Magistrate of the Balasore District" Hunter writes: "report that several cities seem to have been larger in former times than they are now and that others have certainly declined within the past two or three generations."<sup>41</sup>

#### Missionary Activities:

"There was a Roman Catholic Mission at Balasore with Rev. Father Sapet as President". This Mission ran a school and an orphanage and a house for Roman Catholic women, engaged in conversion to Christianity. Mr. Sapet, a Belgian by birth, a man of repute and a man of literature established a church by his efforts.<sup>42</sup>

#### Post Office:

Ricketts wrote in his report on Balasore that the Post Office of Balasore was a thatched house at a distance from collectorate.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> W.K. Hunter, History of Orissa, p.130.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p.131, Bhadrak and Jaleswar were examples of the former Soro and Balasore of the later.

<sup>42</sup> Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian, Chap. Balasore., John Beames writes very high of Father Sapet in his book Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian (1869-1873).

<sup>43</sup> Reports on the District of Balasore of Henry Ricketts, 1853, p.46.

Caste:

Rigid observance of the caste system created social barriers and prevented cohesion. "Two castes could not go together to carry a Palangquin" and a higher caste man would not handle an article handled by a man of lower caste for the fear of pollution.

Wages:

In 1850 the unskilled labourers were getting a penny or half penny a day at Balasore. Carpenters were paid three pence a day; smiths and brick layers got three ferthings in 1850. In the nineteenth century Balasore, the wages which were paid in kind remained unchanged but those paid in the form of money rose as a result of depreciation in silver currency. Silver depreciated more than a third of its kind. Currency had decreased to 30%.

Natural Calamities:

Balasore district suffered worst from natural calamities like cyclone, drought and flood. A most severe cyclone visited the Balasore district in nineteenth century. As a result six thousand persons died. "A more extensive calamity seldom visited the earth".<sup>44</sup> Tidal waves submerged the coastal belt of the district in knee deep water. Henry Ricketts who became Collector and Magistrate in the northern division i.e., the district of Balasore strove his utmost to save the people of Balasore from

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<sup>44</sup> Henry Ricketts to G. Stockwell Commissioner, 26 April 1832, Board of Revenue, Vol. January 1832, p.40.

utter distress. In his letter to the Commissioner he stressed the urgency of requirement of 10,000 maunds of common rice<sup>45</sup> at the rate of one rupee two annas. The Vice-President in Council immediately granted the aforesaid purchase of rice with rupees 2,000 on account of relief.

Regulation VI of 1816 was extended to the end of the year 1821-22, (Amli 1229). The Regulation VII of 1822 further extended this settlement for five years. After 1816, the short term settlements were continued till 1837. In 1837, a long term settlement for 30 years was concluded after 7 years survey and enquiry into the individual rights of each landholder, and under tenant. During this span of 30 years, the Company ceased to rule in 1858 and transfer of power to British Crown took place.

#### Settlements:

The thirty years' settlement that was introduced in 1837 after a thorough survey and investigation of the lands of each district amounted to many ups and downs in the life of the people of Orissa. As a result of this settlement, the cultivation went up but the purchasing power of money fell. Hence land easily became a purchasable commodity like paddy or other articles for many wealthy people in Bengal. Orissa saw the rise of some 'absentee Landlords' who lived in Calcutta but managed their Orissa Estates through a Resident Agent'.

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<sup>45</sup>Ricketts to J. Wenter, Commissioner, 22 August 1832, Board of Revenue, Vol. July December.

The clandestine proprietors wanted to sweep away those intermediaries between them and the real cultivators. After threadbare discussions and practical verifications of settlement operations over the abuse of rights it was decided that 'cultivators' right of occupancy should be at par with that of land-holders' right of ownership to hold a title direct from Government. As a result of the land settlement of 1837, the "Resident Tenants and hereditary cultivators" got palm leaf lease wherein there was mention of quantity of land and the rent too. Ricketts mentioned in his report that there were no European land-holders in Balasore District.

The Collector of Balasore mentioned that there were 80,000 cultivators in his jurisdiction out of whom 30,000 or three eights possessed occupancy rights. The vexed issue of 'submission of right' by the cultivators before 1803 was no more to be found in the British rule. In 1840-42, the land-holders collected  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the actual produce from the cultivators. Hence the Government received 1/6th of the exact produce of the land. Henry Ricketts took initiative to carry out a scientific survey of the province of the settlement. The outcome of 30 years settlement was the individual rights of Kharidars, Muquaddams, Sarbarakars increased.

Some Activities of Henry Ricketts, the Collector of Balasore:

In 1836 when the ruler of Milgiri was a minor, Haribabu whose father was an aspirant for the throne tried to seize power but Ricketts successfully checked such a move of Haribabu. Ricketts was above religious bias. He was informed by Mill, the Magistrate of Cuttack that one Moulavi Hussain, a Muslim preacher in collusion with some miscreants might attack the European inhabitants. That the Moulvi had declared a religious war against the Christians because of 'Pirottar' lands, lost by the owners who failed to establish their titles was not accepted by Ricketts. Moulavi shifted his sphere of activity to Balasore. Ricketts was held in high esteem by Moulavi.

A cenotaph in European cemetery at Barabati close to Burabalanga river side in Balasore<sup>town</sup> contain the following inscription:

"SIR HENRY RICKETTS HAVING SERVED TWELVE YEARS IN  
ORISSA AND THIRTY EIGHT YEARS IN INDIA DIED IN  
ENGLAND ON THE 25TH FEBRUARY 1886, AGED NEARLY 84.

HE NEVER FORGOT BALASORE AND THE OORREEAHS".

The cenotaph also mentions that 'Jane' the beloved wife of Henry Ricketts expired at Balasore on 25 November 1830 at the age of 22. There is still another mention of his infant daughter, aged 7 months who died on 6th November.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>The Orissa Historical Journal, Vol.XI., No.2, p.113.

### Language of the Court:

In 1835 the Government decided to abolish the use of Persian as the court language. This was intimated to the Commissioner of Orissa on December 24, 1835.<sup>47</sup> He was further informed on January 27, 1837 that the proceedings of the court would be recorded in the provincial language. But a copy of the Persian translation of court proceedings in Oriya was directed to be sent to the Sadar Court.<sup>48</sup> From 1837 onwards, Oriya became the language of the court in Orissa. The Commissioner Henry Ricketts observed on 16 June 1838 that in spite of the introduction of Oriya language in Court proceedings the Persian language was still used while preparing the statements of the courts.<sup>49</sup>

In 1839, Sadar Board of Revenue wanted to ascertain as to how far the use of Oriya language in the court was appreciated by the people. The Magistrate of Balasore apprised the Commissioner that Oriya language was not the right substitute of Persian language and that the use of Oriya language had caused certain difficulties. He wanted the use of Oriya language to be restricted to certain matters and the use of Persian language in all other matters. On the other hand the Commissioner supported the use of Oriya language. He held that the people would be gainers in the long run by the use of Oriya language.

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<sup>47</sup> Board of Revenue Records, Circular of Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat 1831-35, Vol.55, pp. 134-35.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 1836-42, Vol.78, pp.38,43.

<sup>49</sup> DRR, letters issued from January to June 1838, Vol.65, p.171. Commissioner to Register Nizamat Adalat June 16, 1838, No.1628.

He suggested that for a certain period till Oriya was accepted wholly by the people, Hindustani language might be used in matters connected with the people. In his opinion, this would remove delay in official work. The Sadar Board of Revenue did not accept his suggestion. It suggested the use of Bengalee as the right substitute of Oriya. Mills, the Commissioner held that use of Bengalee would lead to much discontent among the Oriyas.

Salt Manufacture and Salt Trade in Balasore:

During the Maratha rule in the coastal belt of Orissa from the Subarnarekha river in the north to the Chilka lake in the south, salt was abundantly manufactured. But the Marathas put little importance on salt manufacture and its export; the English viewed the salt manufacture and salt trade as a plentiful source of revenue after their takeover of the province in 1803. The Marathas considered salt as an article of little value in terms of revenue. During the Maratha period the price of one maund of salt was 3 annas. The natives exchanged a seer of grain for a maund of salt. But to the Company it became an article of maximum value as it would fetch them more revenue.

Instead of concentrating on monopoly over production as well as sale of salt the Marathas were satisfied to receive some duty from salt merchants.<sup>50</sup> In 1784 the East India Company made it a rule that none other than the Company would import or sell salt at Calcutta.<sup>51</sup> This debarred the salt merchants of

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<sup>50</sup> Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IX, No. 605.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 1241.

Orissa from carrying on salt trade in Bengal. Consequently the indigencous salt of Orissa was adversely affected. The Maratha Governor, Rajaram Pandit understood the result of such promulgation which would cause loss to Maratha Government. Murar Mahadev, the Faujdar of Balasore wrote: "the revenue of the sarkar has fallen since they stopped its import to Calcutta by any other agency".<sup>52</sup> The Maratha Governor, Rajaram Pandit proposed to the Company that if the latter allowed the Balasore merchants to sell salt in Bengal, they would sell salt at cheap rate and pay duty to the Company.<sup>53</sup>

In 1786 the Governor General conveyed to Rajaram Pandit the terms and conditions for Balasore merchants to carry on salt trade. Accordingly no salt was to go beyond Balasore to Calcutta without the order and seal of British Commercial Resident at Balasore. He became the real authority over salt trade in Balasore. In other words, smuggling of salt to Bengal through the border district of Balasore was checked by this arrangement. Rajaram Pandit agreed to abide by the terms of the English as they also served his purpose. The British Government made the declaration thus: "If hereafter any salt shall be sold to any other person or any obstruction shall be thrown in the way of the aforesaid Gentleman's business the importation of the salt into Bengal shall be again prohibited".<sup>54</sup> In spite of

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<sup>52</sup> C.P.C., Vol.VI, No.1242.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., Vol.VII, No.435.



all such attempts by the Company, smuggling of salt could not be practically checked and hence Rajaram Pandit was again directed to do his best to prevent the merchants from smuggling of salt into the Company's territories.

In 1790 George Forster, the envoy of Lord Cornwallis proposed to Raghuji Bhonsle, the Raja of Nagpur that the Company would purchase the entire salt, produced in Orissa and that no other merchant would be allowed to carry on trade in salt. Raghuji turned down the English proposal as such monopoly of salt trade desired by Company would definitely close native salt trade.<sup>55</sup> While no agreement could be reached on the question of the Company's monopoly of salt trade, British Commercial Resident at Balasore exported all salt from Balasore to Calcutta.<sup>56</sup>

#### Salt Monopoly:

The British conquest of Balasore and Orissa at large in 1803 enabled the British to have monopoly of salt trade over a stretch of land from the Suvarnarekha to the river Mahanadi. It was by a proclamation of the Governor General in Council, <sup>that</sup> salt monopoly was introduced in Orissa with effect from 1st of November 1804. Robert Ker, the Collector of Northern Division of Cuttack remained in charge of salt and customs Division. According to the Company's Regulation, the Officer-in-Charge of salt and customs of this division became the salt Agent of Orissa.

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<sup>55</sup> C.P.C., Vol.IX, No.65.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., No.1162.

The headquarters of the northern division remained at Balasore. Henceforward salt became a source of public revenue.<sup>57</sup>

Till 1806 Robert Ker managed the salt agency in the northern division. In 1806 James King became the 'first salt Agent in Orissa. Since 1811 monopoly worked in full swing in the northern division of Orissa. All private sales were prohibited.

#### Malangis:

Those who manufactured salt were popularly called 'Malangis'. The salt traders used to advance money to those malangis for production of salt. If these producers failed to meet the required quantity of supply as per advance, they returned the rest amount by instalments.

Any merchant who wanted to buy more than 20 maunds had to deposit the amount for it in the salt department at Balasore.

#### Aurangs:

We get a vivid picture of salt production unit of Balasore from 'The Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian, written by John Beames, a Collector of Balasore in the nineteenth century. The salt manufacturing places were called 'Aurangs'. Such areas were filled with 'tall coarse grass and scrub'. There were 11 Aurangs in 1807 in northern coastal belt. Each Aurang was divided into subdivisions called 'Bhowzis' comprising 'Chattis' in which there were a number of boiling houses (Chulhas). In Aurangs, the office bearers were Darogha two to three Muharirs, some

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<sup>57</sup> Bengal Judicial Civil Proceedings No.26 of September 5, 1805, Government to Commissioner of Cuttack, May 4, 1804.

overseers of Chattis and a few Chaprasi. The work in the Aurangs used to start in December and continued till the advent of monsoon, because the land remained dry during this period. Beames has given the following description of salt manufacturing places: "Channels are dug from the sea to small reservoirs dug not in the sand but in the muddy soil beyond. Then a maunt about two feet high is made of earth and grass mixed. On the top is placed a large earthen vessel pierced with holes. A layer of grass and twigs is placed in the vessel, and on this again a thick layer of mud from the surrounding soil, which is largely saturated with saline water from being constantly submerged by the sea. Water from the reservoir is then poured in till the vessel is full. The sea water filtering through the saline earth becomes more salty than it was before and the strong brine thus made is drawn off through a bamboo pipe into a second vessel. Closeby is a rude, dome-shaped furnace, consisting of a hole in the ground surmounted by a Cupola formed by fixing together with mud a large number of egg shaped jars with their mouth outwards. These are all filled to the brim with the brine. Then a fire is lighted inside and fed with the tall, dry grass which grows around, till all the water in the jars has been boiled away. The crystals of salt are then scraped out and piled on mats for transport to the gola".<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>  
Beames, Memoirs of a Bengal Civilian, p.208.

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The salt was of two kinds - Punga or boiled salt and Karkacha or solar evaporation salt. The Punga salt was superior to Karkacha (28 seers of Balasore Punga salt, equal to the 22 seers of Cuttack) was selling at one rupee. After the British occupation of Balasore, Captain Morgan realised that salt could be a great source of revenue. He wrote to the Commissioner of Cuttack about the intricacies in the prevailing salt system due to involvement of Zamindars at Balasore.<sup>59</sup>

Zamindars and Salt Monopoly:

In the coastal areas of Balasore usually the Zamindars who owned a vast chunk of landed property entered into contracts with the salt merchants who advanced the Zamindars sufficient money to get their required quantity of salt in stipulated period for which the Zamindars employed a good number of farmers.

Temporary 'golas' were opened to give delivery of salt. The people working in salt 'golas' were getting monetary help.<sup>60</sup> 'Golapokhari' (a pond) as it is presently called which is situated in the present town area near Balasore Municipality reminds us of such salt golas of those days.

When the Company established its monopoly on salt trade, it deprived the Zamindars of the benefits which they were enjoying by playing the role of middlemen between the malangis and salt merchants. After the Company's imposition of salt monopoly, the

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<sup>59</sup> Cuttack Salt Records, Vol.24, Morgan to Commissioners of Cuttack, February 27, 1804.

<sup>60</sup> C.S.R., Vol.24, Morgan to Commissioners of Cuttack, February 27, 1804.

zamindars wanted the same benefit from Malangis, even though production continued on Government account because the area of Aurang (salt production) belonged to Zamindars. James King, the first salt Agent has referred to the oppressive conduct of the Zamindars towards the Malangis.

According to the 1804 Regulation Salt was sold one rupee per maund<sup>61</sup> for merchants only. These merchants were granted 'Rownahe' by the two Sadar Officers of the Salt Department of Cuttack and Balasore who carried salt outside the Mugalbandi area. Chowkey Officers scrutinised those (Rownahe'. In 1811 monopoly was established over the northern part of Orissa right from the Suvarnarekha to the Mahanadi. In 1812 Salt production centres were either revived or newly started in Balasore.<sup>62</sup>)

#### Areas of Aurang:

In 1814, 8 salt centres were functioning. In 1814, the entire sea coast belt right from the Suvarnarekha to Chilka (covering around 320 miles) remained under a single salt agent. In the northern division salt Aurangs were situated between the river Suvarnarekha and river Dhamra. There were eight Aurangs in the northern Division. Ruttei, Dasmolang, Panchamolang, Ankura, Chudamani, Dhamra and Chanuasarth.<sup>63</sup> These places became the centres of salt Satyagraha when Mahatma Gandhi launched Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930.

<sup>61</sup>Bengal Judicial Civil Proceedings, No.26 of Sept.5, 1805, Government to Commissioner in Cuttack, May 4, 1804.

<sup>62</sup>Sadananda Chowdhury, Economic History of Colonialism, p.13.

<sup>63</sup>Cuttack Salt Records, Vol.12, Becher to Doyly, Dec.15, 1803.

In 1823-24 Salt Agent extended advances to the Malangis of the 'Aurang' for 332,000 maunds of Panga Salt. The next year it became 4,26,000 maunds.<sup>64</sup> The 'Malangis' got 40 rupees per 100 maunds of salt. In 1823 the division had 3 sale golas. They belonged to Balasore, Soro and Bhadrak.<sup>65</sup> The rate was Rs.2-3½ annas per maund. From the Aurangs' side to the sale golas 3½ annas was realised as the transportation charges.<sup>66</sup> The average sale of Panga salt in this division reached 1,20,000 maunds a year. A new sale gola was opened in Basta in 1827 because salt could not be easily carried to Dengal from such inconvenient places.<sup>67</sup> These places lacked good communication. Rajghat Chowkey, 10 kms. from Basta was no more used for the sale of salt by the Government. Naturally persons and shop-keepers attached to Rajghat were instructed to keep contact with Basta. Here the price of salt was 2 rupees 3½ annas per maund.<sup>68</sup> In March 1824, Panga salt at Balasore was sold at the rate of Rs.359-6-8 pies per hundred maunds. There was price hike every year. Salt from Balasore was exported to Salkia in Dengal in large quantity.

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<sup>64</sup> Balasore Salt Records., ACC. No.573, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack., No.8, 1823.

<sup>65</sup> BSR., ACC. No.573, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner to Cuttack, Dec. 16, 1823.

<sup>66</sup> Balasore Salt Records., Dec. 7, 1824.

<sup>67</sup> Balasore Salt Records, ACC. No.582, Commissioner of Cuttack to Salt Agent of Balasore, May 11, 1827.

<sup>68</sup> Balasore Salt Records, ACC. No.588, Salt Agent of Balasore to Superintendent of Chowkies at Jaleswar, No.4, 1828.

In 1825 the Balasore agency worked as Contractors to export salt. The vessels were properly checked. In 1828, Orissa was divided into 3 district in charge of 3 Collectors. These Collectors were discharging the functions of salt Agents. Hence Orissa was divided into 3 salt divisions: Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. In 1828 Balasore Salt agency became a separate salt agent unit.<sup>69</sup> Its area was between Dhamra river in the south and Suvarnarekha river in the north. It was 80 miles in length. This area had 8 Aurangs or salt manufacturing centres. The big Aurangs like Bolang (near Langaleswar), Sartha, Dasmolang, Chudamani and Dhamra were divided into small units.

In 1839 there were thirteen Aurangs - Ratal, Bolang, Sartha, Chhanua, North Dasmolang, South Dasmolang, Panchmolang, Ankura, North Chudamani, South Chudamani, North Dhamra, South Dhamra and Chardia. Aurangs at Ratal and Bolang were abolished because they became unprofitable on account of smuggling of salt.<sup>70</sup> The salt producing places were in course of time reduced to seven by the mid-nineteenth century. They were Sartha, Chhanua, Dasmolang, Panchmolang, Ankura, Chudamani, Dhamra.<sup>71</sup> Ratal Aurangs were revived in 1854. In 1854 eight Aurangs were functioning.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Bengal Judicial Civil Proceedings., No.1, of Nov. 27, 1828, Extract from Proceedings of Governor General in Council, Oct.23, 1828, No.164.

<sup>70</sup>Balasore Salt Record, ACC. No.753, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, September 22, 1854, No.190.

<sup>71</sup>B.S.R., ACC. No.718, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, September 19, 1849.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., ACC, No.753, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, Sept. 22, 1850, No.109.

Balasore Agency alone produced 399,436 maunds and 30 seers.<sup>73</sup> The salt production from 1840-41 to 1845-46 in Balasore Agency was 4,94,940. From 1846-47 to 1851-52 the same reached 329,818 maunds. By this time foreign salt began to pour into Saalkia in Bengal which affected Balasore salt production.<sup>74</sup> In the year 1842-43 the Balasore salt Agency could procure 4,50,000 maunds of panga salt in a season which was the 'Taidai' or estimate of the Board of Customs, Salt and opium approved by the Commissioner. Later on it was reduced to 2,50,000 maunds. But in 1855-54, Panga and Kurkhuch salt production increased to 6,72,999 maunds.

#### Salt Officers:

The Salt Agent had to discharge a double function. He was looking after the production of salt as well as collection of revenue. Besides, there were 'Darogahs' for Aurangs. Their pay was raised from Rs.40/- to Rs.70/- per month in consideration of the area of operation. In Balasore agency one thousand eight hundred and eightynine persons died in sea water due to the cyclone in 1837. Only 28 persons were workers and the rest were 'Malangis'. 2,13,837 maunds of salt was swept away in the sea water.<sup>75</sup> The Government in this dire distress of the people helped the 'Malangis' financially. 'Aurang' Darogah' (Officers)

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., ACC. No.753, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, June 29, 1837, No.110.

<sup>74</sup> Selection from Records of Government of Bengal, 1853, No.XXX, Report on the District of Balasore by Henry Ricketts, 1853.

<sup>75</sup> B.S.R., ACC. No.602, Commissioner of Cuttack to Board of Custom, Salt and Opium. 1 Feb. 6, 1832, No.13.



were instructed to supply retail rice to such sufferers at very cheap rates.<sup>76</sup>

The salt Agent of Balasore intimated the Commissioner that bitter relation so long continuing between Zamindars and the Government over release of Government money for salt manufacture to Malangis in Zamindars land was solved as zamindars were allowed to employ their peasants for manufacture of salt.

Rate of Salt in Golas and Retail Shops:

There were altogether 4 large salt 'golas' at Balasore; Basta, Soro and Bhadrak. Besides, there were 20 'Chowkeys' where salt was available at retail price (rate). The rate of salt did not vary in these salt selling centres, golas and Chowkeys. It was Rs.2-5 annas per maund as approved by the authority.<sup>77</sup> At Rajghat and Begunia the rate of salt was higher as it was situated in the border. Salt was being supplied from Jaleswar 'sale gola' (of Hiji Agency) to these places at a rate of Rs.3-12 annas per maund. This was done to stop smuggling of salt from Balasore to Midnapore (Bengal). But in spite of sale of these centres, the sale was not satisfactory. Hence the salt agent of Balasore was introduced to close their centres of sale. (The salt was sold at Golas of Bhadrak, Soro, Balasore and Basta).

The salt Agent wanted to supply salt from Basta gola at the rate of Rs.2-5 annas.<sup>78</sup> In Balasore around the year 1853

<sup>76</sup> Cuttack Salt Records, ACC., No.447, Salt Agent of Cuttack to Commissioner of Cuttack, Feb.9, 1852, No.16.

<sup>77</sup> B.S.R., ACC. No.685, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, April. 3, 1849, No.3.

<sup>78</sup> B.S.R., ACC. No.695, Commissioner of Cuttack to Salt Agent of Balasore, August 25, 1846., No.1529.

the rate of salt was reduced to Rs.2/- and Rs.2-1 anna at Bhadrak and Soro respectively.<sup>79</sup> The Rajas of Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri used to take maximum quantity of salt from Balasore agency for the use of their people in their areas. Their consumption was 16,000 and 5,000 maunds of salt respectively which they received paying Rs.2-2 annas per maund. In 1885 proposals were given by Board of Revenue to establish Balasore and Soro Golas. It was further approved by the Lt. Governor of Bengal.<sup>80</sup>

In the year 1836, 69,469 maunds of salt was sold. In 1840 and 1845 the amounts of salt sold were 70,635 and 86,889 maunds respectively. In 1850, it reached 99,162 maunds. The highest sale of salt in Balasore agency was 1,03,048 maunds. Around 1856 price of salt in 'golas' of Bhadrak and Balasore was Rs.2/- and Rs.2-2 annas respectively for supply to other places in the Agency.<sup>81</sup> More salt could be sold when smuggling of salt could be effectively checked by concerned 'Province Chowkeys'. Hence 'amlas' in chowkey and golas were paid more (Rs.5/-) on the basis of sale of more quantity of salt.

#### Preventive Chowkeys:

To check the smuggling of salt which was rampant, preventive chowkeys were opened in large numbers under Balasore Agency. Attempts to stop smuggling in Gurjat areas were made as salt regulations of British Government were not in force

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<sup>79</sup> B.S.R., ACC., No.753, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, May 19, 1854., No.46.

<sup>80</sup> B.S.R., Secretary to Board of Revenue to Commissioner of Cuttack, February 10, 1885, No.193.

<sup>81</sup> Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, 1856., Vol.26, Report on Salt in British India, Part-III, Bengal, Appendix-C, No.6.

there. Moreover, Mayurbhanj and Nilgiri Garjats which were prone to smuggling were close to Balasore.

Secondly, Balasore Agency was the border of Bengal where salt was sold at higher price. Naturally smuggling of salt from Balasore to Bengal through border was rampant. There were altogether 5 frontier preventive chowkeys to check illicit trade of salt into Bengal. The other chowkeys were situated near Aurang areas from Suvarnarekha to Dhamra keeping a distance of 5 to 15 miles.<sup>82</sup>

Proposal of Henry Ricketts to Check Smuggling of Salt:

In 1835 Henry Ricketts, the Salt Agent at Balasore noticed that the smuggling of salt was rampant. He gave some suggestions to the Board for the prevention of smuggling.<sup>83</sup> Ricketts suggested that a Jamadar accompanied by 'ten' peons should be posted for each 'Aurang' for such purpose. They would not only check smuggling of salt but 'illicit manufacture of salt' too. He laid down a condition by making the method of checking such illegal trade most alluring. Hence one would be awarded with Rs.2/- only when salt more than 20 seers was seized and smugglers caught redhanded. Secondly, he would also get 8 annas award per maund without the arrest of smuggler.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> B.S.R., ACC. No.753, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, Sept. 22, 1854, No.109.

<sup>83</sup> B.S.R., ACC., No.628, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium to Government of Bengal, March 20, 1835, No.244.

<sup>84</sup> B.S.R., ACC. No.628, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium to Government of Bengal, March 20, 1835, No.244.

Ricketts proposals were accepted by the Government.<sup>85</sup> The reward rate for defecting these smugglers became more alluring. It was fixed at Rs.2/- per maund. It would not be more than 10 rupees for the arrest of single man and one rupee per maund when a man was seized with more than 5 maunds of possession of illegal salt.<sup>86</sup> These methods of chowkey management proved worthy and successful. Otherwise, the salt Agent categorically stated the smuggling would increase.

Further to check smuggling in the border area of north Balasore and check infiltration and better management, the salt agent of Balasore proposed 5 chowkeys to function under the Superintendent of Salt Chowkeys at Jaleswar. Though the Superintendent was also in charge of some areas of Midnapore division in Bengal, he had to discharge his function in the border area subject to the guidance and control of the salt agent of Balasore.

#### Removal of Inefficient Officers:

In 1845 the Salt Agent of Balasore complained to the Commissioner regarding the indifferent attitude of preventive officers in checking contraband salt. He pointed out that out of 227 such officers, 53 officers had not shown their efficiency by seizing a little quantity (chhatak) of contraband salt in a span of two years i.e. from 1843 to 1845. Besides that 42 officers had seized less than 4 seers in the same period. He wanted their

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<sup>85</sup> D.S.R., ACC. No.628, Secretary to Government of Bengal to Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, April 8, 1835.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., August 19, 1835., No.213.

immediate dismissal. He also did not like to keep any more peons in chowkeys because of their lack of vigilance and proposed to appoint a body of 'Jamadars' with a lucrative scale of pay for better management of chowkeys. He held that low salary led to bribery. Higher salary and promotion and increased allowances would remove such inefficiency and corruption in salt trade.<sup>87</sup>

Anti-smuggling Squad:

The Salt Agent of Balasore had appointed some peons in 1848 to check smuggling. The policy further became dynamic when one Jamadar assisted by 6 or 8 peons from one 'chowkey' patrolled under the orders of nearby 'Aurang' Darogah. In this period the strength of the preventive staff in 20 chowkeys reached 258. In frontier chowkeys, one Jamadar, one Muharir and 10 peons were appointed. They got each Rs.12/-, Rs.10/- and Rs.4/- every month respectively. The cost of establishment of a chowkey was Rs.1,327/- per month.<sup>88</sup>

But the new system introduced since 1849 became unsuccessful because the Jamadars took bribes from the manufacturers. Instead of carrying on anti-smuggling activities, the Jamadars remained absent from the chowkeys. Naturally, Muharrirs who worked single-handed could not properly carry out the retail sale of salt. So not only the reluctance of the anti-smuggling squad to check

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<sup>87</sup> B.S.R., ACC., No.684, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, October 8, 1845, No.36.

<sup>88</sup> B.S.R., ACC. No.695, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, June 20, 1849, No.13.

smuggling was abortive but also it affected the retail sale of salt and weakened the attempts to check smuggling.<sup>89</sup> The Salt Agent of Balasore proposed to appoint a European Officer for better management of choukeys.

As the Salt Agent had a double portfolio both as a Collector and Magistrate, it became impossible on his part to be always present in headquarters to look after the work of 253 persons in preventive department within an area of 80 miles in sea belt. Smuggling could not be checked as the smugglers worked in collusion with preventive officers.<sup>90</sup> Once again the appointment of European Officers as Inspector of chowkeys was suggested by the Salt Agent of Balasore.<sup>91</sup> This appointment was thought to be most effective for checking corruption in the preventive department. Thus he wanted to create superiority complex in the department and he felt that a European Officer could only be able to check smuggling. The post was sanctioned and a European Officer was appointed as "an unconvenanted Assistant" to the Salt Agent.<sup>92</sup>

In Balasore Agency, Panga salt in crude form was first stored in 'Aurangs' 'gola'.<sup>93</sup> Then it was exported to Salkia in Bengal. Balasore salt flooded the Bengal districts. Balasore witnessed its heyday when the entire seven and a half lakh maunds of salt went to the Salkia golas in Calcutta.

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<sup>89</sup> B.S.R., ACC, No.753, Salt Agent of Balasore to Commissioner of Cuttack, July 22, 1854, No.84.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., April 17, 1854.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., May 19, 1854, No.46.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Stirling, A., An Account of Orissa, Proper or Cuttack, p.5.

The rate of freight in Salkia in Bengal changed from time to time before 1839 it was Rs.23-8 annas to Rs.16/- in Balasore agency. In 1839, it was Rs.12/- in Balasore. The rate of freight in Balasore came down to Rs.11/- afterwards. From 1839 an European Officer named Alfred Bond looked after the Export Section. Owing to his efforts the freight rate considerably reduced to Rs.10/- and malpractices too by the Agent officials. The loss under the contractors was 3 per cent but under Mr. Bond it was 1 per cent. The sale price on 100 mounds of Panga salt despatched from Balasore was Rs.418/- at Salkia Golas and in May 1st 1855 it was Rs.313/-. Henry Ricketts writes on salt of Balasore thus: "The salt of this district has always had a high character in the market for purity. It is now more sought for than any other salt manufactured". The management of the export was as good that notwithstanding distances and risks the Government was unable to offer it for sale at Salkia in Bengal, one rupee for 100 mounds, cheaper than the salt from Hidgelec.

Salt export from Balasore to Salkia no doubt made Balasore port busy and prosperous when the season for salt export was over, a large number of vessels used for salt trade, were utilised to carry agricultural products of the district and State. But due to the abolition of Salt monopoly on February 28, 1863 people no longer saw the ever busy commercial activity of Balasore port.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Autobiography of Fakir Mohan, pp.18-22.

Henry Ricketts reports on the district of Balasore "By an arrangement made some years ago all the salt from the supply of the Soroh (Soro) and Bustah (Busta) golahs is in the first place brought to Balasore and there weighed in the Balasore Golah under the inspection of the Assistant Mr. Bond and forwarded thence to the Bustah and Soroh Golahs as wanted ..... The salt is carried 30 miles instead of 10 miles in order that it may be weighed by the Assistant and any malpractices by means of an understanding between the Aurang Darogahs and Golah."

#### The Abolition of Salt Agency and After:

The manufacture of Punga salt constitute an important indigenous industry of Balasore district at the time of British occupation of Orissa in 1803. The saliferous tracts in its coast provided ideal sit~~e~~ for salt fields with respect to the availability of brine and the nature of the soil.

Salt industry employed thousands of people and enabled the local zamindars and merchants to earn a lot from the salt. The British authorities took over the salt affairs of Orissa in 1804. The British aimed at establishing monopoly over salt trade and salt manufacture with a view to earning a huge amount of revenue from it. They first established their monopoly over the sale of salt; then they established monopoly over its manufacture. In the Balasore district the British first introduced their salt monopoly. By 1811 the British had established full monopoly over the salt industry and trade of northern Orissa.



From the Balasore district the monopoly was extended to the rest of Coastal Orissa.

In 1826, a separate salt agency was established for the Balasore district, while Cuttack and Puri districts remained under one agency. In 1829 there were three separate salt agencies for the three districts - Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. Under the monopoly system the British Government earned a lot of revenue. The salt revenue was much more than the land revenue. But the salt became much more costly under the monopoly for the ordinary consumers, and the condition of the Malangis became worse as they had to suffer from the payment of low wage by the British masters and oppression by the zamindars. By the mid-nineteenth century, the British contemplated the abolition of salt monopoly being unable to check the smuggling of salt and with a view to facilitating the sale of British salt in Bengal and afterwards in Orissa. In 1847, two Aurangs of the Balasore district ( at Ruttai and Dolang) were closed.<sup>95</sup> In 1863 the Aurangs in the Balasore district were reduced to four.<sup>96</sup> The same year salt agencies were officially closed. On 28 February, 1863 the salt agency of Balasore district was officially closed.

The abolition of salt monopoly gave rise to three consequences. Firstly, salt became scarce for some time. In the words of Dr. S.N. Chowdhury: "In the districts of Balasore and Cuttack

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<sup>95</sup> Jan., 1847 - Mills, AJM, Minute, in Appendix to Plowden's Report on Salt (Bengal), p. CLXXXV.

<sup>96</sup> Commissioner of Cuttack (R.W.Shore) to Secretary Board of Revenue, Bengal, M.R. May, 1863.

this scarcity had assumed serious proportions approaching to a State, very much like a salt famine".<sup>97</sup> Since salt was not available, the people had to manufacture illicit salt.

Secondly, the Malangis and other persons associated with the manufacture of salt were thrown out of employment. The Table below would show the number of persons, working in various capacities, who were thrown out of jobs in the Balasore district as a result of the closing of salt agency.

TABLE

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Chulias (Work Supervisors employed)	...	3,177
Malangis	...	12,467
Darogas	...	8
Mohurirs	...	17
Zilladars	...	58
Paiks and Chaprasis	...	341
Total		16,068

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Thirdly, the abolition of salt agency resulted in the depopulation of such areas of Balasore district as Chanua, Sonratha and Satamalang. In these areas no cultivation was possible because of frequent floods and deluge by sea. The people of these areas were entirely dependent on salt for their livelihood.

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<sup>97</sup> Chowdhury, Economic History of Colonialism, p.55.

In 1865 salt production by the system of excise was started. The excise system was based on three principles - (1) Licences were issued to individuals for the manufacture of salt, (2) Rewanas (or permission) were issued for the transportation of salt and (3) Illicit manufacture and smuggling of salt were to be prevented to protect the revenue of the Government. The excise system did not work well. The amount of salt produced under the new system was much below the amount of salt required for consumption in Orissa.

In 1882-83 the first consignment of Liverpool salt came to Balasore.<sup>98</sup> For some time the Liverpool salt as well as the locally manufactured salt held the market. In 1889 the manufacture of salt under the excise system was abandoned. Then direct manufacture under the salt department of the Government was introduced. Under this system a salt factory was opened at Sartha in the Balasore district. Karkatcha (sun-evaporated) salt was produced at Sartha. The salt produced at Sartha could be much cheaper than the Liverpool salt. While the Sartha salt could be purchased at the rate of six annas per maund, the Liverpool salt in the Balasore market could not be less than one rupee per maund.<sup>99</sup> But Sartha factory was closed in 1893 on the pleas of weakness of brine, adverse climate and excessive

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<sup>98</sup> 13 Aug., 1887 - Dy. Commissioner, Salt And Abk. Rv. N.Dvn., To Secretary to Commissioner, Salt, Abk. & S.Rev. Bengal, No.740.

<sup>99</sup> 26 Jan., 1893, No.87-B- Secy. Bd. LP. To Secy., Govt. of Bengal, Fin.Deptt. BSA.

Customs:

Balasore was a seat of maritime enterprise. The foreign establishments like those of Dutch, Danes, Portuguese, French and English grew up here because of the facilities available for maritime trade in Balasore town.<sup>101</sup> These establishments grew up in the middle of the 17th century. Balasore port topped the trade centres in Orissa. Thomas Motte who travelled through Balasore district in 1766 enroute to Sambalpur wrote in his itinerary on Balasore trade. He described it thus: "Balasore is built along the river 'Boree Bollaun' (Burabalang) where the tide rises commonly eight feet and serves to carry vessels into the dry docks of which there are many here; but the spring tides rise much higher. The stream is navigable only for vessels of 100 tons burden; nor can these get over the bar at the mouth of the river except at the time of the spring tides". He gives an account of the growth of factories of English, French, Dutch, Portuguese but as regards their trade and commerce he is silent.<sup>102</sup> From an account of one Leckie who passed through Balasore on March 7, 1790 enroute to Nagpur accompanying George Forster sent by Lord Cornwallis, we get the following accounts: "Balasore was formerly a flourishing port, but their manufactory of the Sancoes (properly sehun) cloths is very much fallen off, both

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<sup>101</sup> The Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXVI, parts 3-4, Mediaeval Orissa's Sea Ports, Balasore, pp. 148-74, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 14 Session, Jaipur, Shipping and maritime Activities of Orissa during the Muslim Rule, pp. 172-76.

<sup>102</sup> Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories, p. 4.

cost of manufacture. With this the long history of salt manufacture at Balasore was closed and in spite of its long coastline Balasore had to depend on the Liverpool salt as well as Madras salt. The Table below would indicate the amount of the sale of locally manufactured salt in the Balasore district from 1883-84 to 1893-94:

TABLE

Year		Amount of salt sold (in maund)
1883-84	...	1,39,106
1884-85	...	1,18,566
1885-86	...	1,08,707
1886-87	...	43,238
1887-88	...	20,335
1888-89	...	
1889-90	...	620
1890-91	...	1,908
1891-92	...	826
1892-93	...	18,859
1893-94	...	21 <sup>(100)</sup>

The people of Balasore did not forget their long tradition of salt manufacture and rose in revolt against the British Government on the issue of salt, when Mahatma Gandhi started Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930.

<sup>100</sup> Report on the Salt Industry of Orissa, p.12.

in quality and quantity and the ruinous state of the English and Dutch factories, with the insignificance of the Danish one, seem to show that the trade is not of that consequence which it formerly was".<sup>103</sup> Towards the end of 18th century, there was a fall in trade activity in Balasore. After the British take over of the Balasore District and province in 1803, rice and salt were exported in abundance from Balasore, Chudamani and Dhamara parts.<sup>104</sup>

According to the New Regulation of April 1810, a custom house at Balasore was opened. It was called the Central Custom House. Eight more custom chowkeys were opened in the district of Balasore besides Balasore custom House in 1810. Thus these were:

<u>Name of Chowkey</u>		<u>Distance from Balasore</u>
Ballapal	..	12 Cose ( 24 miles)
Rajghat	..	12Cose ( 24 miles)
Remuna	..	3 Cose ( 6 miles)
Balaramgarhi	..	3 Cose ( 6 miles)
Bangreah	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ Cose ( 1 mile )
Fulwar	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ Cose ( 1 mile )
Chudamani	..	12 Cose ( 24 miles)
Dhamarsh	..	24 Cose ( 48 miles) (105)

<sup>103</sup> Early European Travellers, p.52.

<sup>104</sup> G. Toyanbee, A Sketch of the History of Orissa (1803-1828), p.88.

<sup>105</sup> Balasore Custom House Records (ACC. No.586), Collector of Govt. Customs to Secretary to Board of Customs. Salt and Opium, August 13, 1829.

These chowkeys fell in the range between Dhamarah and Subarnarekha river. Some were ports and some were important centres of Commerce. The custom and transit duties in this range did not exceed Rs.30,000/- per annum and the entire value of the imports and exports that paid duty was ~~si~~ca Rs.2,97,285/-. Thus Balasore was then the foremost port in the province. Naturally the maximum trade dealings were carried out at Balasore in comparison to other trade centres. And hence the custom house was opened here. The Collector of Government customs remained in charge of the custom house controlled by the Board of Revenue in Bengal.

#### Chowkey Officers:

The office bearers in the Chowkey were one Darogah and one Muharir being helped by some peons. The other office bearers in the Sader Office were 'Sheristhadar' and an English writer. The pay of the Darogah varied from 12 rupees to 20 rupees per month and that of a Muharir from Rs.8/- to Rs.12/- a month. Sheristadar and English Writer drew a salary of Rs.40/- a month. Peons got Rs.4/- as their salary. Peons assisted Muharirs.

The cost of establishment of all chowkeys of Balasore was Rs.366-3 annas per month during May, 1828.<sup>106</sup> The supervision of Chowkey offices was done by the Collector of customs at Balasore. Immediate action was taken in case of any malpractices. In 1813 some cultivators lodged a complaint against the 'Amla' and 'Peons' of Balliapal for illegal collection. As a

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<sup>106</sup> Balasore Custom House Records (ACC. No.586). Collector of Government Customs to Civil Auditor, May 21, 1828.

result of the complaint a 'Muharir' of Sadar Office was deputed by the Collector of Government Customs at Balasore to conduct an enquiry into the matter. The mala fide charge against the Amla and Peon was proved. In his report the Muharir held them responsible for such evil practices and mentioned that they should be suspended for such acts. Further he informed the Board of Revenue such matters.<sup>107</sup> The Board not only passed the supervision order but also instructed the Collector to lodge criminal charges against such office bearers in the district Court as provided by the Regulation 9 of 1810.<sup>108</sup> It shows even in those days the lower Government Officers were corrupt and at the same time higher officers did not hesitate to take action to remove corruption from Government Officers.

In 1820, some rules passed by the Government became applicable to the Collector of customs, in the functioning of public stores. The Collector of Balasore came under its purview. The names of the imported articles were to be mentioned in the Import Duty or free Sea Register and preserved in the Custom House. In case of export of commodities by the Government, the Government would follow the method of processing application as abided by Indian merchants. This would be through an application to the Collector of Customs. One had to mention the number,

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<sup>107</sup>Proceedings of Board of Revenue (Customs) No. 15 of November 16, 1813, Collector of Government Customs to Secretary to Board of Revenue, October 27, 1813.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., No. 18 of November 16, 1813. Secretary to Board of Revenue to Collector of Government Customs, November 16, 1813.



description, value of goods, quantity, description of packages and particulars of persons. Despatch and receipt were also mentioned. It was verified by an Officer assigned by the Collector of customs before shipment. A 'Free Export Register'<sup>109</sup> was maintained in which export of goods was mentioned. Military and Medical stores and Government articles were exempted from imposition of duty on import, export or transit.

The Collector of customs at Balasore applied the modified rule of 1821,<sup>110</sup> according to which articles below the value of ten rupees were not checked. All commodities passed through Balasore customs house. According to the report of the Collector of Customs to the Board fall in trade was marked especially in cotton goods.<sup>111</sup> Cotton goods produced in Cuttack were sent to Calcutta for sale via Balasore custom house. One of the reasons for this fall was the difference of opinion between the cloth Agents of Calcutta and merchants of Orissa. Andrew Stirling a British Officer in Orissa wrote in his minute in 1825: "The manufacture and trade of Orissa proper are very inconsiderable and unimportant. A sufficiency of the coarser cloths is made for the use of the inhabitants in all parts of the district. The calicoes of Balasore, Soro, Bhadrak, Janjipur and Hariharpur, were once much prized and sought after under the name of Sahnabs, but the demand for the finer fabrics of that description having

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<sup>109</sup> Board of Revenue Records, Customs Deptt. Vol.No.25A, Secretary to Government of Bengal to Commissioner at Cuttack, July 7, 1820., No.541.

<sup>110</sup> Balasore Custom House Records (Vol. No.22) Collector of Government Customs to Commissioner at Cuttack, July 20, 1824.

<sup>111</sup> B.C.H.R., ACC. No.586, Collector of Government Customs to Secretary to Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, August 13, 1823.

long since greatly declined the quantity now manufactured is very trifling".<sup>112</sup> In November 1827 the Collector of Government Customs at Balasore writes: "the trade here is so trifling and the merchants and people in general so poor that few if any articles of the first quality are ever brought here for sale."<sup>113</sup> During this period the small vessels were mainly carrying grain free of custom duty for export from the port of Balasore, Chudamani, Dhamarah. Henry Ricketts, the Collector of Government Customs at Balasore in his report to the Board in August 1829 laid down the annual collections from export and import at different places from Balasore (May 1825 to April 1829) thus:

Balasore	-	Rs.576-2 annas
Dhamrah	-	Rs.431-7 annas
Chudamani	-	Rs.105-3 annas
Baliapal on river		
Subarnarekha	-	Rs.322-8 annas.

As the revenue realised was very less, the question of 'farming the system of the collection of customs' was suggested. Ricketts said this system would quickly pass the articles in small ports from Balasore.<sup>114</sup> Ricketts adopted some measures to check the farmers realising little grain. Ricketts mentioned in his minute the Government Officers were also corrupt in these days.

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<sup>112</sup> A. Stirling, An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack, p.21.

<sup>113</sup> B.C.H.R., ACC. No.574, Collector of Government Customs to Secretary to Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, Nov.9, 1827.

<sup>114</sup> B.C.H.R., ACC. No.586, Collector of Government Customs to Commissioner of Cuttack, August 13, 1829

In November 1833 the suggestion for abolition of Balasore custom house came from the Commissioner Cuttack, Robert Hunter, to the Government. This abolition was recommended because the trade at Balasore was not promising, the profit from custom house was 5 to 6 thousand rupees and hence the duties could easily be collected at Calcutta customs house and not at Balasore custom house instead. The same case was referred to the Commissioner Cuttack, Henry Ricketts by the Collector of customs of Balasore on February 1, 1836. He continues: "I think the annoyance caused by the Custom House to the inhabitants may be reckoned at about 50,000".<sup>115</sup> In 1836 when Henry Ricketts was the Commissioner of Cuttack, raised a point that custom house which showed an annual profit of Rs.8,000/- should not be abolished.<sup>116</sup> Ricketts again made the question of Balasore custom house an issue when the realisation of transit duties was going to be stopped in the Bengal Presidency. These duties were imposed on commodities when that entered the town area or the Chowkey area. Such duties were not imposed on grain, ghee and fire-wood. Rest commodities of internal trade were required to pay duties. He stated that there was thin progress of trade at Balasore.

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<sup>115</sup> Proceedings of Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, No.79 of March 4, 1836, Collector of Customs to Commissioner, February 1, 1836.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., Henry Ricketts to Secretary to Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, February 18, 1836.

A figure of export and import duties in the Balasore Custom House is given below:

Year	Export	Import	Total
1832-33	Rs. 5-0 Anna	Rs.249-2 Annas	Rs.254-2 Annas
1833-34	-	Rs.157-8 "	Rs.157-8 "
1834-35	-	Rs. 69-6 "	Rs. 69-6 "
	Rs. 5-0 Annas	Rs.476-0 Annas	Rs.481-0 Annas (117)

When the trade scope at Dhamra, Chudanani, Baliapal was so to say stopped, Balasore acted still as a check gate and Officers were required to remain at these places.<sup>118</sup> The Commissioner Rickotts was not in favour of making a port duty free as that would result in loss of revenue. The Board accepted his view. And if Balasore ports were declared free, commerce would not give revenue and unfair means would be adopted by many to abuse the trade privileges. After all examination of the issue it was finally settled not to abolish Balasore custom house which would function hereafter in a small scale with less establishment. Naturally a new modified rule came in to force in April 1836.<sup>119</sup> Accordingly establishment cost of Balasore Custom House amounted to Rs.182/- only.

<sup>117</sup> P.B.C.S.O., No.91 of March 31, 1836, Statement of the Collector of Government Customs at Balasore, March 12, 1836.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., No.90 of March 31, 1836, Henry Rickotts to Secretary to Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, March 12, 1836.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., No.92 of March 31, 1836, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium to Government of Bengal, March 31, 1836.

The Sadar Office maintained one English Writer, one 'Muharir and two Peons' on payment of Rs.30/-, Rs.10/- and Rs.8/- respectively. Ricketts mentions that Muharir could become a Darogah and could be elevated to Deputy Magistracy. The salary of a Darogah he mentioned reached Rs.75/- to Rs.100/-. Moreover, there were 'Chowkeys' of Baliapal, Chudamani and Dhamarah. The office bearers in each chowkey were one Muharir and two peons at the monthly payment of Rs.10/- and Rs.4/- respectively. Further Assistant to the Collector of customs was appointed with an emolument of Rs.80/- per month.<sup>120</sup> It was abolished in May, 1848 as per order of the Board.<sup>121</sup> Establishment cost fall down to Rs.93/- per month. This small trade centre ran even though the profit to the Government was negligible. Moreover, there was no source of income from the side of transit duties as it was abolished in 1836. A detailed figure of the receipts and disbursement from May 1836 to April 1838 given below exhibits a real picture of Balasore Custom House.

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<sup>120</sup> B.C.H.R., ACC. No.648, Collector of Government Customs to Commissioner at Cuttack, September, 4, 1837.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., ACC. No.715, Secretary to Board of Customs Salt and Opium, to Collector of Government Customs at Balasore, May 11, 1848.

Particulars	1836-37			1837-38		
	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Duty realised on Imports	762	13	11	1,184	13	4
Duty realised on export	71	15	5	213	11	10
Sale of confiscated goods	-			-		
Fines	-			122	15	5
Miscellaneous	605	6	8½	363	15	5
Total	1,440	4	1½	1,885	5	0

## Disbursement and charges:

Fixed establishments	2,036	15	5½	2,134	0	0
Contingent charges	48	15	10½	68	14	9
Total	2,085	15	4	2,252	14	9
Excess disbursement	645	11	3½	367	9	9 <sup>(122)</sup>

In the span of years from 1831 to 1853 there was an increase in the number of vessels plying in the Balasore port from 56 to 1167. Below is given a Table showing the plying of vessels from Balasore port during 1849-50:

Year	To what port bound	No. of vessels cleared out	No. of arrivals reported	No. of whose arrivals not reported
1849	Calcutta	282	167	115
	Madras	8	6	2
	Masulipatam	2	-	2
1850	Calcutta	357	204	153
	Madras	23	12	11
	Calicut	1	-	1
Total		673	389	284

<sup>122</sup>P.B.C.S.O., No.36 of January 17, 1839, Collector of Government Customs to Secretary to Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, December 10, 1838.

In 1851, 44 vessels were destroyed due to a cyclone out of 185 vessels that set out for trade from Balasore port. Balasore Custom House got a leap in revenue collection when 'Buoyage duty' was collected in 1846 from vessels from the ports of Balasore district. Buoyage were ordinarily seen near the mouth of the river to direct 'navigable course' or reefs'. This duty was collected from 1846. Below is given the charges of 'Buoyage duty':

Vessels below 2000 maunds	-	Rs.8/- each
Vessels from 2000 maunds to 5000 maunds	-	Rs.10/- each
Vessels above 5000 maunds	-	Rs.15/- each <sup>123</sup>

Ricketts in his report on Balasore had stated that the Balasore custom house got a small income out of this duty. Commodities like Copper, thread, brass were being exported. He wrote "The Balasore custom house is established merely as a check to prevent goods being imported at that place in order to evade the payment of duty in Calcutta."<sup>124</sup> He writes in his minute that the marine establishment of Balasore had a 'Master Attendant'.

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<sup>123</sup> B.C.H.R. ACC. No.720, Collector of Sea Customs to Henry Ricketts, Member of Board of Revenue, November 25, 1853, No.14.

<sup>124</sup> S.R.G., Bengal, 1853, No.XXX, Report on the District of Balasore, Henry Ricketts, 1853.

The later used to regulate vessels trading in the port, to look after the Buoys in the Balasore (Burabalanga) and Dhamara rivers, to collect the buoyage duties, to assist distressed vessels, to take charge of wrecked property, to ship treasure to convey annual supplies of opium, stationary etc. to Pooree, Cuttack and Balasore.<sup>125</sup> Such Buoyage duties were collected from the smaller ports like Chudamani, Lochampur, Chhanoah, Sartha and Subarnarekha. When the Government of India passed the Act of 1855 (Act 22 of 1855) and small ports came under its purview, the Commissioner of Cuttack raised his objection to protect the case of Dhamara including the aforesaid ports.<sup>126</sup> W. White was the officiating Master Attendant of Balasore. He provided the detail information about the ports.<sup>127</sup> That is given below:

Export and import vessels levied buoyage duties from the several rivers of the district.

Year	Subarna- rekha	Sartha	Balasore	Lochan- pur	Chuda- mani	Dham- ara	Total vessels
1852	2	22	64	20	14	38	160
1853	14	42	73	24	4	34	191
1854	10	46	72	12	6	56	202
1855	14	35	69	16	19	31	184
1856	15	37	107	21	39	8	227

<sup>125</sup> S.R.G., Bengal, 1853, No.XXX, Report on the district of Balasore, Henry Ricketts, 1853.

<sup>126</sup> B.C.H.R., ACC. No.780, Junior Secretary to Government of Bengal to Commissioner of Cuttack, May 8, 1857, No.21117.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., White to Collector of Balasore, June 1, 1857, No.95.



Port dues collected:

Year	Total no. of vessels	Port dues or Buoyage (duties (in rupees))
1852	160	1,436/-
1853	191	1,667/-
1854	202	1,850/-
1855	184	1,701/-
1856	227	2,071/-

The Master Attendant of Balasore port W. White also maintained that 2 Peons guarded the ship wrecked property and also the arrival and departure of vessels. He wanted these small ports of Balasore to be benefitted by realising the dues.<sup>128</sup> In 1858 an act was passed by the Government of India (Act II of 1858) for the levy of port dues in certain ports in the province of Cuttack.<sup>129</sup> These ports were strictly Balasore, Chudamani, Lachanpur, Chennua, Sartha, Subarnarekha and Dhamra. From May 1, 1858 the collection of dues were "at the rate of 6 annas for every one hundred maunds of burden in respect of every sea going vessel of the burden of 300 maunds and upwards which shall enter any of the said ports". The Act added that "the said several ports shall be regarded as constituting a single port. All sums received on account of port dues at any of the said ports shall form a common fund which shall

<sup>128</sup> B.C.H.R., ACC. No.780, White to Collector of Balasore, July 29, 1857, No.189.

<sup>129</sup> G.S. Fagan, Acts of the Legislative Council of India, Vol.III, pp. 547-48.

be called the 'Balasore Port Fund' and shall be available for the payment of all charges incurred on account of any of the said ports".

Even though the trade in Balasore ports right from Suvarnarekha to Dhamra declined yet the Balasore custom house worked as the provincial custom house and all the small ports of the district were under the purview of the Port Act. Salt, rice and paddy still continued the trade. Only after the abolition of salt monopoly this activity was discontinued and Balasore harbour was forlorn.

#### F e r r y :

The Ferries in Balasore District were regulated by the provisions of Regulation VI of 1819 as Public Ferries. The amount that was realised in four ghat of Balasore has been described below thus:

	<u>Rs.</u>	<u>Anna</u>	<u>Pie</u>
A palkee and bearer			
Hawkey with Bullock	8	4	8
Horse	0	3	6
Each Passenger	0	0	6

Taxes are also realised annually in the following ghats of Balasore District.

Rajghat (Suvarnarekha river) ..	1,000-0-0
Poilwar (Phulwarighat in Burabalang river) ..	734-0-0
Byturneo (Baitareni river) ..	324-0-0
Salindee (in Bhadrak) ..	80-0-0

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Excise:

Unlike Marathas who paid less importance for collection of revenue from liquor and opium, Tari<sup>130</sup>, Ganja, the company after its conquest of Balasore and Orissa in 1803 chose these articles to add to their revenue of the province. In the Moghul-bandī tract of Orissa i.e., the sea belt from Subarnarekha to Chilika proper, excise was under the management of a Collector till 1828. From 1829 when Balasore became (already) a district, a Collector controlled 'Abkari Revenue (excise) in the district from these aforesaid 4 articles.

Liquor was manufactured and sold. Free sale of opium and liquor was visible in the district.<sup>131</sup> Abundant supply of opium from Bihar to Balasore was done by merchants in Bihar. The merchants used to procure opium from cultivators in Bihar with less cost and smuggled it to Balasore via a shorter route through Mayurbhanj and avoiding Government rules. In comparison to other coastal districts of Orissa, sale of opium in Balasore was very high. The sale price was low because opium was supplied to Balasore opium depot in plenty. In spite of maximum consumption of opium at Balasore the company administration did not put importance on it as a source of revenue strictly till 1814.

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<sup>130</sup> Fermented juice of palm tree.

<sup>131</sup> G. Toynbee., A Sketch of the History of Orissa (1803-1828), p.66.

In 1815 the Board of Revenue directed opening of retail shops in the province. Gradually, the Board of Revenue changed its view over the sale price. It gave direction for the sale of opium at higher price keeping in view the maximum requirement of the opium eaters and their ease and comfort. In August 1815 because of insufficient supply of opium no retail shops could be opened at Balasore.<sup>132</sup> The first quota of Government opium did not reach until August, 1815. It was sold in Balasore from Rs.12/- to Rs.14/- of Balasore seer of 80 tolas. In 1816 the number of opium shop was 13.

We know earlier that there were Danish, French and other European settlements at Balasore close to the Budhabalang river side. In 1817 one Prinzling, the agent of Danish Government had opened some opium shops at their place of settlement popularly known in Balasore town as Dinamardinga.<sup>133</sup> They smuggled opium at cheaper rates. The local people helped him to run the shops. So in other words their opening of opium shops in Balasore town hampered the sale of opium by British Government opium venders. The Collector informed this to the Board of Revenue. The Board of Revenue placed the matter before the Governor General in Council.

<sup>132</sup> Proceedings of Board of Revenue, No.22 of August 25, 1815, Collector of Cuttack to Secretary to Board of Revenue, August 15, 1815.

<sup>133</sup> P.S.R., No.5 of March 14, 1817, Collector of Cuttack to Secretary to Board of Revenue, January 28, 1817.

In 1816, there were only 8 Peons appointed to check the illicit manufacture and sale and supply in the whole of province. Each was getting Rs.3/- per month. The Collector of the province desired to decrease the number for he was dis-satisfied with their insincerity in their discharge of duties. He suggested the appointment of a Jamadar on circuit with monthly salary of Rs.10/- with four Peons to assist him. This method would also check the production of 'Ganja' another addiction including former also. The Government accepted his proposal and directed him to appoint one Jamadar and 4 peons,<sup>134</sup> to carry out the work. Because of those steps, revenue increased from 1814-15 onwards. In 1808-09, 1809-10 and 1810-11 the revenue from the Abkari in the province was Sicca Rs.9,123, Sicca Rs.9,582/- and Sicca Rs.9,644/-<sup>135</sup> respectively. In 1814 the Abkari revenue was Rs.15,000/-.<sup>136</sup> In 1824-25, it was Rs.40,795/- and in 1827-28, it went up to Rs.42,176/-.<sup>137</sup> Below we give an estimate of the details on Abkari in the Balasore District.

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<sup>134</sup> P.B.R. Excise, No.14 of September 17, 1816, Secretary to Board of Revenue to Collector of Cuttack, September 17, 1816.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., No.31 of November 30, 1818, Board of Revenue to Government No.28 of September 13, 1811, Board of Revenue to Government.

<sup>136</sup> PBR (Excise), No.22 of August 25, 1815, Collector of Cuttack, to Secretary to Board of Revenue, August 15, 1815.

<sup>137</sup> PBC., No.22 of May 21, 1846, Commissioner of Cuttack to Secretary to Board of Customs.

Abkari articles	No. of shops 1837-38	Amount realised Rs. As. Ps.	No. of shops 1838-39	Amount realised Rs. As. Ps.
Opium	2	13,456-14-8	1	12,648-0-0
Liquor	6	556-5-5	6	595-0-5
Ganja	4	841-14-6	4	771-13-2
Tari	22	463-12-10	22	471-7-4
Total		15,319-0-5		14,486-4-11 <sup>(138)</sup>

In 1839, the Board suggested opening of Sadar distilleries in the province. The Collector of Balasore opposed such a move.<sup>139</sup> He remarked it as 'neither advisable nor likely to be profitable to Government'.

On April 28, 1846, A.J.M. Mills, the Commissioner made a new scheme for 'Excise management' in the Orissa. In his scheme he advised appointment of two Excise Superintendents in the province. Further he also proposed to divide each district into some divisions such as Cuttack in 5 divisions, Puri into 3 divisions, Balasore into 4 divisions. He also wanted to open Sadar distilleries at Balasore. Henry Ricketts in his report mentions that large number of people of Balasore were opium eaters.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>138</sup> P.B.C.S.O., No.45 of October 11, 1838, Collector of Balasore to Commissioner, August 16, 1838.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., No.4 of January 30, 1840, Commissioner of Cuttack to Secretary to Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, January 8, 1840.

<sup>140</sup> Selection from Records of Government Bengal, 1858, No.XXX, Report on the district of Balasore, Henry Ricketts, 1853.

### Civil Justice:

After the British take over of the province, on May 1804, Governor General made some rules for administration of Civil Justice in Orissa. The province of Cuttack including Balasore and its other dependencies, would form 'A Zilla' and come under the Calcutta division of the provincial court of Appeal. The Zilla would be divided into northern and southern divisions. Balasore was northern division. And one judge was meant for one division who would decide cases relating to private rights and properties. The Regulations of September 5 of 1805 stated that 'Oriya language and character should be used in the administration of Civil Justice. On October 23, 1828 the Governor General in Council divided Orissa into 3 districts. Balasore district was called the northern district or division, Cuttack was called the Central division or district, Puri district was called the southern division or district. In Balasore district, the Collector-cum-Magistrate was entrusted with administration of Civil Justice.<sup>141</sup>

Besides the judge, two Sadar Amins were appointed at Balasore. The Munsiff at Dhamanagar and Balasore were in charge of 3,442 parganas. The principal Sadar Amin, Amin and the Munsif were getting salary of Rs.500/-, Rs.300/- and Rs.110/- respectively.

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<sup>141</sup> Bengal Judicial (Civil) Proceedings, No.41 of December 27, 1831, Government to Commissioner at Cuttack, December 27, 1831.

We mention below a Table stating the place of Munsif Court and fees realised therefrom:

<u>Munsif's Court</u>		<u>Fees (in rupees)</u>	
Basta	1819 Rs.10/-	1820	Nil
Balasore	-do- Rs.261/-	-do-	Rs.191/-
Soro	-do- Nil	-do-	Rs.211/-
Bhadrak	-do- Rs. 53/-	-do-	Rs. 25/-

In 1821 we came across the appointment of a Registrar at Balasore.<sup>142</sup> In this year there were 36 original regular suits, 53 summary suits, 10 appeals.<sup>143</sup>

Judicial and Police Administration:

In 1804, after the British occupation of Balasore and Orissa at large, came into force different laws of Bengal in Orissa. One such was the criminal laws and rules of Bengal. There were 18 police stations in the province. Among them Basta, Balasore, Mutto, Soro, Bhadrak were in Balasore district. Bhadrak was the biggest thana having 1248 villages. In each Thana there was one Darogah, one Muharir, one Jamadar and ten Barkandaz usually getting a monthly salary of Rs.25/-. Sicca Rs.10/-, Sicca Rs.8/- and Sicca Rs.4/- each per month respectively. But the Darogah of Balasore got Rs.30/-. Arrangement of Police security was better in town area. A Joint Magistrate remained in charge of Balasore, Basta and Soro thanas from 1815.

<sup>142</sup> Bengal Judicial (Criminal) Proceedings, No.18 of December 17, 1821, Commissioner at Cuttack to Government, September 7, 1821.

<sup>143</sup> BJ(Cr.)P, No.12 of December 17, 1821, Blunt to Government September 7, 1821.



Salim Ali who was 'Munshi' at Balasore since the British takeover of Balasore, attached to Captain Morgan, placed in high position in Salt Department was removed by Robert Ker(1817), the Collector-cum-Magistrate, Balasore, on charge of embezzlement, smuggling of salt and selling an appointment being prosecuted in Civil Court. But nothing could be proved against him. Even then he was removed from office by James King, the Salt Agent in 1807.

He purchased lands in his nephew's name, Bujlal Hussain. The later was also a merchant who also fought the case. Salim Ali had lands worth Sicca Rs.26,164/- in his nephew's name. But the law did not excuse him. He had to undergo imprisonment on charges of extortion.

The whole province was divided into three divisions or districts in 1828 by the Governor General in Council. Balasore was the northern district where the Collector exercised the powers of Magistrate. He was also assigned the duty of Registrar to administer Civil Justice. Balasore district was further divided into 6 thanas.

In 1841, it was decided by the Court of Nizamat Adalat that the Court should <sup>hold</sup> sessions twice on a year in Balasore. The Sessions Judge should go to Balasore to decide the case. The parties in the case and others should remain in Balasore instead of coming to Cuttack. <sup>144</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> B.P., No.15 of January 11, 1842, Registrar of Nizamat Adalat to Government of Bengal, December 29, 1841.

In Balasore district (in 1853) there were three Courts of Criminal Justice, the Courts of the Magistrate, the Joint Magistrate at Balasore and the Deputy Magistrate at Bhadrak.<sup>145</sup>

In Balasore the case of dacoity was less. In 1853 the case of burglary reached 108 and theft 217. The amount of entire property stolen in Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts was Rs.21,559/-.<sup>146</sup>

#### Chowkidar:

Village Police in Moghulbandi was popularly called Chowkidar. Regulation 20 of 1817 enumerates the duties of Chowkidar. Darogahs who worked under the Magistrates maintained a register of village watchman. Their duty was two-fold i.e., revenue collection and guarding the village during night. Village watchmen were appointed for groups of villages. The headman of the village helped him in both these duties. Usually they belonged to low caste such as 'Panas' and 'Kundaras'. Their rights to this office were hereditary.<sup>147</sup> The police men who stayed within 2 miles of Thana was to report to the police Darogah on the incident that happened within 24 hours. Those who stayed 2 to 6 miles away from police station had to report twice every week. Persons involved in murder, robbery, burglary, violent affairs, house breakings and theft were captured. As regards the action

<sup>145</sup> BJP., No.172 of April 20, 1854, Extract from Report of Henry Ricketts, December 8, 1853.

<sup>146</sup> BJP., No.146 of November, 1854, Resolution on the Police Report of 1853, October 13, 1854.

<sup>147</sup> BJ(Cr.) No.18 of December 17, 1821, Commissioner at Cuttack to Government, September 7, 1821.

against the mis-deeds of the watchman, the Darogah referred the case to the Magistrate. If his involvement was serious he was dismissed. The Chowkidars collected a nominal tax from inhabitants of their areas. Total village force in the entire district of Balasore was 1,742. Regular police and Chowkidar always guarded Balasore town. They got monthly salaries. The Chowkidars raised their monthly pays from their areas being helped by regular police.<sup>148</sup> Balasore town was patrolled by Chowkidar as well as policeman.

As a result of the British occupation of Orissa in 1803, a well-ordered administration was introduced in Orissa as in the rest of the country. Since 1828, Balasore became a separate district and the town of Balasore became its headquarter. British administration was more orderly and systematic than the Maratha administration. Under the British rule, western ideas and institutions were introduced. But the people of Balasore like the rest of Orissa had to suffer a lot under the British rule mainly because of two reasons. First, the Colonial rule ultimately proved ruinous to the economic life of the people. It was because of the British economic policy that the salt industry of Balasore was irretrievably ruined. Secondly, being an outlying appendage of Bengal Presidency, the people of Balasore like the rest of Orissa had to suffer from negligence and exploitation and domination by the Bengalees. The famine of 1866 thoroughly exposed the negligence of the British administration.

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<sup>148</sup>BJP, No.168 of December 31, 1857, Commissioner at Cuttack to Government of Bengal, September 8, 1857.

#### CHAPTER - IV

#### THE FAMINE OF 1866 IN BALASORE DISTRICT

In 1866 the coastal Orissa experienced a terrible famine. The famine took a heavy toll of lives in the district of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri. Since the famine occurred in the ninth regnal year of Divyasinghadeva, the Gajapati of Puri, it is popularly known in Orissa as Na-anika famine (meaning the famine of the ninth regnal year). Under the British rule, natural calamities had previously occurred in Orissa in 1806, 1807, 1817, 1828, 1834, 1836, 1839 and 1845. But the famine of 1866 was unprecedented in its magnitude. It affected the poor as well as the rich. Balasore district was immensely affected by this famine.

Scanty rainfall, inadequate supply of rice, heavy exportation of rice in the previous year and the lack of judgment in the gravity of situation by the administrative authority were responsible for the devastating famine of 1866. In the words of C.E. Buckland: "the Orissa famine was the most intense India had seen. It stood almost alone in this that there was (till a comparatively late period) almost no importation and

the people shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, wherein the condition of passengers in a ship without provisions. Money was spurned as worthless."<sup>1</sup> Free trade system was prevalent during this period.<sup>2</sup> A report of the Collector of Balasore District, H. Muspratt who joined in the month of January, 1865<sup>3</sup> shows that native vessels from Ganjam and Calcutta arrived at Balasore to collect rice. Rice agents started collecting old and new rice from the cultivators in the nook and corner of the district. Consequently no surplus rice was left in the district.

During this period due to exorbitant rise in the price of rice habitual rice sellers emptied their stock for getting more money. "Agents were spread through the length and breadth of the district purchasing rice and paddy from the cultivators. Everyone was eager to sell his stores".<sup>4</sup> Around a lakh maunds of rice was exported from Balasore in 1864-65 to Calcutta and Ganjam. The price of rice was favourable to the cultivators. They, therefore, parted with their stock blindly for money.

#### The Latrer Rains:

In July and August 1865, there was heavy downpour of about 13 inches in the district. Surprisingly enough there was scanty rain after the middle of August, 1865. The normal annual

<sup>1</sup>C.E.Buckland, Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors, Vol.I., p.333.

<sup>2</sup>R.C.F., Vol.II, p.17.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.190, H. Muspratt, Magistrate, Balasore to Commissioner, Cuttack, 2 April, 1866., O.S.A.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

rainfall was 60 inches of which 5.1 fall in May, 9 in June, 12 in July, 11.5 in August, 11.2 in September and 5.1 in October.<sup>5</sup> In India, end of September and October is usually the time for flowering of paddy. The average rainfall was about 5 inches from August onwards. Now there was the deficiency of about 2/3rd of the average rainfall. As a result of virtual cessation of rains since mid-August 1865, crops in the highlands completely failed and in the lowlands the crops could not be sustained for a successful yield.<sup>6</sup> This premature rainfall certainly became the natural cause of the famine of 1866.

The crop production of 1863-64 was exceptionally abundant. The Collector of Balasore, H. Muspratt estimated the year's (1865) production as  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 1864.<sup>7</sup> After August 1865, the ryots in utter poverty wanted to borrow rice instead of money from the landlords. But the landlords refused to part with their stock as they apprehended a thin outturn of paddy. In 1865-66, the rice sellers of Balasore had exported 783,890 maunds of rice worth Rs.9,08,723/- and the three previous years export amounted to Rs.2,53,694/-, Rs.1,80,826/- and Rs.1,78,533/- respectively. During the period 1863-65, 15½ lakh maunds of rice was exported to Madras Coast. And in the last ten years the export was 2,00,000 maunds of rice. The Zamindars appre-

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<sup>5</sup> S. O'Malley, Gazetteer, Balasore, p. 26.  
<sup>6</sup> R.C.F., Vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> R.C.F., Vol. II, p. 18, H. Muspratt Esq. Collector, Balasore to the Officiating Commissioner of the Cuttack Division, 20 Oct., 1865.

hending the scarcity of famine made a petition to the Government to extend a period of one month (showing their inability) for payment of their instalment (kisti) to the Government<sup>8</sup> which amounted to Rs.1,70,000/- for the two quarters of the last year to be paid on 8 November, 1865.

Ravenshaw's Approach:

T. E. Ravenshaw the officiating Commissioner of the Cuttack Division<sup>9</sup> estimated the crop of 1865 as 'half of the previous year's production and the appeal of the landholders forwarded by Collector on October 26, 1865 was not recommended favourably<sup>10</sup> by the Commissioner and was, therefore, rejected by the Board of Revenue. The version of the Collector of Balasore was: "the rice crop of the district does not promise to reach to  $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the crop last year. The ryats all forced to borrow rice and not money. The statement is but too true."<sup>11</sup> In his answer Ravenshaw wrote to the Collector of Balasore: " I have no doubt there is more rice in your district than you imagine and further that the crops of the current year will suffice for the year supply."<sup>12</sup> Ravenshaw made the land-holders responsible for their collusion with the dealers having malafide intention. He was informed about the large stores in the hands of the dealers.

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<sup>8</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, pp.18-19. From Baboo Pudolochan Munda and others to the Collector of Balasore, Soro dated 25 Oct., 1865.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., Vol.II, p.20, T.E.Ravenshaw Esq. Officiating Commissioner of the Cuttack Division to the Secretary, Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, 30 Oct., 1865.

<sup>10</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.19, 30 October 1865.

<sup>11</sup> C.E. Euckland, Benegal Under the Lieutenant Governor, Vol.I.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p.335.

Fakir Mohan Senapati, a contemporary writer of Balasore has described in his autobiography in the following manner how Ravenshaw wrongly assessed the gravity of famine situation in 1866: "In the month of September or October 1865, Government asked the Commissioner of Cuttack Division whether precautionary measure was necessary in view of the possibility of famine in Orissa. The Commissioner consulted the Amalas of the Kutchery (Collectorate). The Sheristadar and Peshkar were of opinion that paddy in sufficient quantity would be available from musussil Mahajans (village Bankers) and Zamindars. The stocks of Zamindars of Gopalpur (30 kms from Balasore), Bhimpur (15 kms. from Balasore) and of the Mahajans (village money lenders) of Chakuria, they declared could feed the entire population of Orissa for two months.<sup>13</sup> The Commissioner Ravenshaw was satisfied with their view and wrote to the higher authority that there was sufficient stock in the province. His view that there was plenty of grain in the country was a miscalculation indeed because latter on Ravenshaw expressed that supplies had been cornered and hoarded due to combination of dealers. In fact, Ravenshaw could not foresee the magnitude of famine well ahead and realised his miscalculations when his myopic handling of the grave famine situation resulted in large scale casualty.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Fakir Mohan Senapati Autobiography, 2nd Ed., 1963, p.52.

<sup>14</sup> Pvarimohan Acharjya, Orissan Itihasa, p.151.



The poor people were sandwiched between the unbridled lust of the Zamindars and the delaying process of the Government in Bengal. During that period Sir Cicil Beadon was Lt. Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

As a result of unrestricted large export of rice in 1864 and 1865 and its less storage by the Mahajans, rice selling in Balasore market was rarely visible and if at all found, then it was only in very meagre quantity. It so happened that after August, 1865 when a drop of rain was a far cry and earth was drying day in and day out crop output in the entire district was a dismal failure and in the meantime people depleted their stock.

It was surprising that when at this grave hour, the people of Balasore were being pulled to a state of peril, 69 (sixty nine) vessels<sup>15</sup> arrived in the port of Balasore for collection of rice taking only 12 days to sail to Balasore. But when hopes and chances of collection of rice appeared dim, they returned hopeless from Balasore to Arracan and other ports in Burmah for their purpose. Moreover, around 75 crafts came from Ganjam.<sup>16</sup> All returned because the price of rice was abnormally high at Balasore and secondly, because of the moral of the people, the rice-hoarders of Balasore refused to sell rice. Rather the Zamindars appealed to the Government for importing rice if weather became favourable. During this period, the price of rice

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<sup>15</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.20.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p.190.

was one anna per seer and also sometimes two annas a seer as revealed by the report of the Sub-Inspector of Soro. But the greedy exporters (Madrassees) from South went to the extent of purchasing rice at ten seers per one rupee. In normal conditions even one seer coarse rice for two pice was considered very costly. It so happened that the markets remained closed since the people could not afford to purchase rice at such exorbitant rate.

When people were starving and markets remained empty without rice, it was Captain Bond<sup>17</sup> (elected President of Relief Committee) whose advice to the hoarders of rice became effective and fruitful to lessen the mounting height of distress. The rice hoarders released sufficient rice to the market for local consumption. The attempt was timely and decisive to change the attitude of Zamindars and Mahajans who found such a time most opportune for them to amass fortune from whatever stock of rice they had. These rice hoarders unitedly used to open one shop and increased the price daily till it reached 3 annas a seer. This practice was discontinued only when Government help reached Balasore and rice dealers' monopoly could be ignored. But no positive step was taken by the Government either to check the staggering price of rice or to fix a reasonable rate. Those holders of rice who did not act according to the advice of Bond became victims to loot and arson. Hungerstricken people began

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<sup>17</sup>  
R.C.F., Vol.II, p.20.

to attack rice hoarders who refused to sell or lend them paddy or rice. They warned one Netto Senapathy<sup>18</sup> of Butteswar (Balasore town) that if he did not sell rice, his house would be burnt.

The price of rice in last part of 1864 was 10 to 14 annas a maund. Sometimes Re.1/- for 1 (one) or  $\frac{1}{2}$  maunds and 150 seers paddy per Re.1/-, according to Balasore weight also in the month of January, 1865 when the crops of 1865 has not been sown and Re.1-10 annas a maund in May, 1865 and then abruptly rose from rupees 2-6 to 8-8 a maund. From a price chart we can know that price of different qualities of rice.

Sunkercheenoe rice 1st sort = 11 seers per rupee

Asmoordee rice and sort = 14 seers per rupee

Course rice .. = 16 seers per rupee<sup>19</sup>

A memorandum by a Deputy Collector gives the following description of drought in Balasore: "Between Balasore and Tulugger the water has all dried up from the side of the road and in many places the ryots have turned their cattle on the "dhan" (Paddy) for pasture".<sup>20</sup> Due to the want of timely rain which the paddy crop needed for its maturity, there was no rice inside the paddy covering. It was all dusk. During his tour in the district in the winter season the Collector observed that: "little of the crop to the west of Balasore was worth

<sup>18</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.18.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., Vol.II, p.21.

<sup>20</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.21, Extract from a memorandum dated 3 November 1865, received from Dy. Collector, J.D. White.

cutting" and "the grain however when it came to be beaten out small percentage of what appeared in the ear".<sup>21</sup> The areas, adjacent to the Dhamra river on the north-east including part of Bhadrak Sub-division to the Debee river on the south-east presented a picture of total loss of crops.<sup>22</sup>

Rice was the staple food of the people of Orissa and Balasore in particular and as main crop it grew in rainy season. It was either "Sarud" or "amon" by name. This crop of winter rice failed in 1865 because the moisture in the earth had dried up gradually before it came to ear. The ryots then did not cultivate 'Ous' rice or 'Rabee' at Balasore. This crop was generally reaped in the month of November. Atta was not eaten in Balasore. No one was inclined to purchase it.<sup>23</sup> According to an estimate of the Collector of Balasore the population of the district had reached 8,00,000 in 1865.<sup>24</sup> The district was thinly populated. The estimate describes that 50 lakh maunds of rice would be enough to meet the need of the people for one year. The normal outturn of the crop in a harvest was seventy to eighty lakh maunds. So twenty to thirty lakh maunds of rice could be easily exported.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>R.C.F., Vol.II, p.423.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.439.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p.211.

<sup>24</sup>No Census Survey had been introduced by the Government at that time.

<sup>25</sup>R.C.F., p.423.

Zamindar and Ryots:

In the district of Balasore there was an area of 656,000 acres of cultivable lands. There was not an area of spare land in the district before the famine.<sup>26</sup> Nine-tenth of the cultivable area was left for cultivation of paddy. The tenant always was in debt and hence depended on the Zamindar and almost all the land-holders were chief rice-lenders. They stored grain in 'golah's and the husbandman borrowed loan from them. Their golahs proved their richness and honour that they received from the village and society at large. "The landlord or the village usurer swoops down on him at harvest time."<sup>27</sup> The Zamindars realised their principal with compound interest from the tenant whom they used to lend loan from the month of June. They exercised influence boldly over the tenants, because of this obligation. The Oriya Zamindars were avaricious and timid but they were sympathetic more or less towards the famine stricken people of Balasore unlike the Bengalee Zamindars. The Bengalee Zamindars were absentee land-lords in Balasore and managed such estates from distant Bengal by their agents stationed at Balasore for running the estates. Thus "the second class zamindars are chiefly Bengalees who have purchased either privately or at Government sales the estates of old hereditary and defaulting proprietors. These men are in many instances non-residents and

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<sup>26</sup> W.W. Hunter, History of Orissa, Vol.II, p.49.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p.47.

either trade with the proceeds of the estates or remit the revenue derivable there from elsewhere. They are not as a rule addicted to storing grain except for trade and while exacting as much from the ryots are harder on them in the matter of payment of rents which are realised under the procedure of law".<sup>28</sup>

Money loans which were perfectly maintained in hereditary accounts in other parts of India that caused ruin to families were exceptions at Balasore. Low and middle class people lived from hand to mouth. The erratic nature of rain was the reason for the crop failure in 1865. Daily labourers were bound to depend on the payment in cash or kind they got from the employer who was either a rich man or a zamindar. When the harvest failed, the situation was totally new to them that no one realised its probable results. On the whole the zamindars' role in 1865-66 was dubious and uneven. Of course in later stage some zamindars came forward for relief to the poor.<sup>29</sup> The Collector, Balasore reported on the paucity of funds in the hands of merchants.

Fakir Mohan, the contemporary writer, 1st teacher in Mission school writes in his autobiography that Government began to provide bags of 'Sago' from Calcutta and hoarded it in godown. This was distributed among the famished people.

<sup>28</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.201.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.267.

The Government had already known about the insincerity of the zamindars during such a catastrophic situation and hence ordered that rice that was reaching Balasore from Burmah and Calcutta should be sold through a trustworthy and responsible committee to the poor people on the work but not the zamindars or Mahajans. Basta, Balasore, Soro, Bhuddruck (Bhadrak) were selected as depots where grain was supplied to people on the spot.<sup>30</sup> The Zamindars living in inner villages in majority cases also became very cruel. On the other hand the wealthy Mahajans whose sources of income included export of rice and salt could not earn anything from this source due to the famine. Neither could they collect rent nor could they pay revenue.<sup>31</sup> Yet the Collector suggested to the Zamindars the employment of ryots in digging tanks or in salt manufacture on remuneration basis.<sup>32</sup>

#### Abolition of Salt Agency and its Aftermath:

In the wake of grave food crisis caused by drought a section of people who were always depending on salt for their livelihood for years together in salt complex i.e. either in salt offices or Aurangs (Salt manufacturing places) or salt

<sup>30</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.264. Extract from Executive Engineer Balasore Division to Superintending Engineer, Cuttack Division, 19 May 1866.

<sup>31</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.189. From Moulavi Monammed Abdoolah, Hon. Secretary, Balasore Famine Relief Committee to the Collector, Balasore dated 23 March, 1866.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p.189, 4 April from Collector Muspratt to Bond, Elected President, Relief Committee.

export places near the bed of the river Burabalang became the sheer victim of famine in 1866, because they had lost their jobs as a result of abolition of salt agencies in 1863.<sup>33</sup>

The manufacturing places were Rupei, Saratha, Jhhanua, Dasmalanga, Panchamallanga, Ankura, Churaman, Dhamra.

40 thousand people lost their employment in Orissa (because of discontinuance of salt trade).<sup>34</sup> Cicil Beadon wanted the Government to retire from the manufacture of salt and the supply of salt should be left to the ordinary course of trade because there was regular and steady demand.

#### Liverpool Salt:

Fakir Mohan Senapati wrote that the fortune of Orissa left for Liverpool. As because the Government manufacture salt became more expensive, Liverpool Salt (England) arrived in Calcutta and flooded the markets.<sup>35</sup> It came to Balasore in canal and land.

He writes that Salt department in Balasore which had two divisions such as 'Dewani' and 'Seresta' absorbed hundreds of employees mostly.<sup>36</sup>

During this period there were only sail-led ships. The sailors who were making big sails in cloth for ships (now) could not get any work because of the postponement of salt

<sup>33</sup> Report on the Salt Industry of Orissa, p.12.

<sup>34</sup> Sadananda Choudhury, Economic History of Colonialism, p.56.

<sup>35</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, 2nd Edn., 1963, pp.10-11.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.



trade. They could not support themselves any way in such hard times. One can imagine how many sailors were busy day and night, sticking sails for ships as mentioned by Fakir Mohan.

He writes 12 sails were sometimes required in one ship.<sup>37</sup> The names of the vessels were Karaju, Savara, Tavera, Kalami, Javi, Dariya, Pela etc.,. Gorapa was a big size vessel. Sails were of different length and breadth. These were either triangle, quadrangle size. Sails were made according to the size of the vessel lest they would capsize. Fakir Mohan writes: 75 per cent of vessels used to carry salt and the rest other commodities.<sup>38</sup> Around 500/600 ships were plying in (Balasore) Seas from November till March (from winter to summer depending upon the wind). Because of abolition of salt trade, not a single vessel was seen in seas.<sup>39</sup> Steamer was not yet available then. The river bed which was once a crowdy place with markets and economic affluence looked desolate. Fakir Mohan writes that before the traders started their voyage they worshipped 'gods in temples' in large numbers spending sufficient money in prayers for protection of their life and property in high seas while in voyage. Such places were no more crowdy. The 'priests' who used to get a lot of money in such period now became pennylcss.

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<sup>37</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, 2nd Edn., 1963, pp. 10-11.

<sup>38</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.10.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-11.

The huge number of carpenters who were entirely depending on this trade for constructing and repairing ships were now helpless. The contractors, native pilots, crews also suffered from same agony. 15 sailors or khallasis used to work in one ship. There is a place called Khallasi Mahalla behind Motiganj.

On 2 December 1865, Ravenshaw suggested to the Board of Revenue to revive salt manufacture to give relief to the starving people. He wanted to save people by reinstating them in their services.

After November, 1865:

In order to save their crops in the eleventh hour, the cultivators drained their tanks and all sources of water but those water storages proved inadequate.<sup>40</sup> The whole province was "without artificial irrigation". The Government had not developed the irrigation system by utilising the rivers, tanks and other receptacles of drainage. Sometimes the people did not want to use the river water for the sake of irrigation because of the superstitious belief that river water flowed from heaven.<sup>41</sup>

Scarcity began from "Dewallee Amobasya", 1865 i.e. around October, 1865. In the month of October-November 1865,<sup>42</sup> the daily labourers and farmers being driven by acute want, began selling their house-hold articles and after November and December situation forced them to become mendicants. The attachment to family

<sup>40</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.192.

<sup>41</sup> W.W. Hunter, Orissa, p.53.

<sup>42</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.218. T. Ravenshaw the Commissioner to Cuttack, Balasore: S.N. Dash Unnabinsa Satapdih Itihasa, p.66.

withered and thought of survival was everybody's concern. Silver and gold lost their value and could be sold without being weighed. The cost of a bullock came down to 25 to 40 seers of paddy and cow to 8 or 16 seers of paddy.

Nobody spared paddy or rice at this grim hour. Poor people eked out their livelihood on jungle roots, tamarind leaves,<sup>43</sup> small bulbs which became their only and entire support. Fakir Mohan Senapati thus describes condition of famine-stricken people in his autobiography: "By the month of Falgun (February-March) 1866 most cultivators and artisans in rural areas had scattered out. They even ate away grass and leaves. Some ten to twenty people climbed on a tamarind tree like monkeys and consumed the tender leaves. Almost all had bony and skinny bodies, eyes sunk deep into the sockets. Many young girls and house-wives of respectable families with torn and knotted clothes around their loins, roamed in the streets, pairs of skinny straps barely symbolising motherhood, were swinging on their chests. A bonny child would be seen on its mother's lap suckling the skinny straps. It was difficult to assess whether the child was alive or already dead. The mother was seen to have taken the child in the arms with all her strength".<sup>44</sup> Attacked by diseases, people

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<sup>43</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.35.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

died in large numbers in streets and bathing places.<sup>45</sup> Moved by these pathetic scenes, Fakir Mohan who was then hardly 23 years used to go to lonely places and prayed for rain to save the dying people.<sup>46</sup>

### Labour:

The wage of a daily labour (man) was 2 annas, woman 7 pice and child 5 pice. Gradually the number of workers diminished. Pans and Kandaras (low castes) of Balasore who depended entirely on employment (on remuneration) refused to leave Balasore to work in Calcutta or do canal excavation work in irrigation company because they hated to be termed as coolies.<sup>47</sup> Their common saying was "let our sons die rather than become coolies". The Collector of Balasore at that time found that "the Oriyas would rather die than go even a few miles from their homes to procure work".<sup>48</sup> The labourers who suffered most belonged to pergunnah Bhograi, Kunmanda, Sahabander, Rudrachour and Kutsahi (in north Balasore). Whatever might be the efficacy, the Government did not faithfully and impartially work out the schemes of employment. Even though work was provided by Irrigation Company and P.V.D., the number of people engaged in such employment were less in Balasore in comparison to Puri, Cuttack and Ganjam. "The daily average number of persons relieved

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<sup>45</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.36, 199 ; P. Acharya, Orissa Itihasa, 2nd Edn., p.151.

<sup>46</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.34.

<sup>47</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, pp.191, 378 ; H. Muspratt, Collector Balasore to Commissioner, 2 April, 1866.

<sup>48</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.159.

from June to November was 26,497 viz. 4,552 employed on light labour and 21,945 in receipt of gratuitous relief".<sup>49</sup>

Ravenshaw strongly urged the completion of road from Calcutta to Puri. From February 1866 onwards, starvation and dacoity increased. Excessive want, hunger and denial and apathy to meet it by the Government level compelled the poor to commit crime. The Government became responsible for the deficiency of food supply to Balasore which increased the magnitude of famine.

#### Dacoity and Plunder:

Famine resulted in the increase of dacoity cases. From first January to twelvth April, 1866, 731 persons were involved in 53 dacoities. The value of property that was plundered was Rs.3,121-11-7 and of that amount Rs.1075-10-5 was grain. Maximum number of dacoity cases occurred in Soro police jurisdiction.<sup>50</sup> Next to it was Busta in North Balasore. People committed arson and dacoity unscrupulously and frequently which they admitted in Court. According to a comparative report there were 49 thefts cases and 6 burglaries in 1863, 86 thefts and 25 burglaries in 1865 and 99 thefts and 32 burglaries in 1866.<sup>51</sup>

#### Disease and Death:

Besides death and malnutrition, caused by shortage of food the environmental condition in the Balasore district became unhygienic. About this, the official report stated: "Balasore city contains no fewer than 11,000 tanks not one of

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<sup>49</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.159.

<sup>50</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.201.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p.207.

which can be said to be in a wholesome state. Their banks are in the receptacle of every sort of filth fluid and solid".<sup>52</sup> The recurrent attack of Cholera was also alarming when huge numbers of pilgrims visited Puri.

In the month of March, April, June and September, 1866 Cholera took a large toll of lives. Jackson and Harvis were working as C.D.M.O. and Assistant Surgeon in Balasore and Dhamra hospital respectively. Jackson, Civil Medical Officer at Balasore reported that Cholera and bowel complaint reached frightful extent in jail, pilgrim hospital and Dharmasulla (the refuge of pilgrims) and majority of deaths were caused by diarrhoea, cholera, malarial fever, dysentery, rheumatism, fever and ulcers.<sup>53</sup>

Mortality reached its extremity in second week of August 1866 due to abundant rainfall and cyclone. The rivers were in spate. Many people died in such areas as Korma, Soso, Senaot, Byang, Dhamnagar, Ayass, Kateea, Delgram and Kanika. Shortt, the Assistant Collector estimated that out of 2,00,000 persons in 800 square miles of the subdivision, 50,000 persons perished due to disease and famine. Those who suffered most were people of low castes such as Pans, Kondaras and Tantee

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<sup>52</sup> W.W. Hunter, Orissa, p.65.

<sup>53</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.424.

castes. Thus mortality in Balasore from June to October 1866 is given thus:-

Month	Number of bodies recovered by police	Death in hospital
June	973	998
July	1,403	573
August	1,874	819
September	1,303	644
October	576	334

From June to October 1866, 8,900 paupers died of whom 6,132 died in streets of Balasore and 2,768 in hospital.<sup>54</sup> In Balasore town 10,000 paupers suffered from starvation and disease. "The total mortality was estimated at 2,17,608",<sup>55</sup> of which 31,424 deaths has been ascribed to diseases resulting from starvation. 29,559 persons emigrated. So in the town there was a total loss of 2,47,167 or one third (1/3) of the population. Everyday three hundred people died in Balasore and it became difficult to remove the corpses because the low caste people who used to carry dead bodies to burial grounds were not available in large numbers. The whole atmosphere became stinky. 4 (four) carts were engaged to carry the corpses to burial ground and it took around 3 days to remove all bodies.

<sup>54</sup> L.S.S. O'Mally. District Gazetteer, P.160.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p.150.

On 8th and 9th August 1866, 245 and 151 people died respectively. The villages and town wore a dead sepulchral air. By September, 1866, 10,00,00,000 persons died in Orissa.<sup>56</sup>

L.S.S. O'Mally gives a true picture of the lamentable scene of the people of Balasore in the famine of 1866 in the following words: "Unseen lands reared houses and living skeletons met the eye everywhere" ..... "The mortality in and about Balasore town and the famine sights to be seen there were more horrible than at any other places in Bengal and Orissa. The mass of paupers assembled was larger than it was elsewhere. The town lay in the way of many who left their homes in hopes of reaching Calcutta. Of these, many exhausted and disabled by hunger and disease from going further, remained to swell the numbers who were fed by the relief committee. Subjects of the neighbouring tributary Rajas also flocked into share in the relief."<sup>57</sup>

He continued ..... "In the early months cholera, bowel complaints caused by bad insufficient food carried off hundred, the least change of weather to cold or damp was immediately fatal. Many who were caught by bad weather at a distance from the places of distribution had not strength to crawl back to get their meal, and so died where they lay, in out-houses or by the wayside. Even in fine weather, many were

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<sup>56</sup> L.S.S. O'Mally, District Gazetteer, p.150; P.L. Hunter, Orissa, p.37.

Smantki, 1967 Balasore, p.14. Out of seven lakhs 52 thousand population in the district of Balasore 2 lakhs 17 thousand died and 20 thousand and five hundred people emigrated.

<sup>57</sup> L.S.S. O'Mally, District Gazetteer Balasore, p.160.



found dead in the morning where they had lain down to sleep at night, others when they went to drink fell into the water through sheer debility and were drowned."<sup>58</sup> S. Uacoh, the Additional Judge in his statement to Famine Commissioner stated about the people dying on the roadside which he saw on his way to Balasore from Calcutta. Similar statements were given by Dr. N. Jakson, C.D.M.O., Balasore before the Famine Commissioner.

#### Relief:

Relief work was started by the Relief Committee on 24 November 1866.<sup>59</sup> Then price of rice was 2½ seers per rupee. Special grants were sanctioned by the Government to help the distressed people to be engaged.<sup>60</sup> Rich men and land-holders came forward to donate. Relief centres were opened at Dhanra, Basta, Mitrapur, Jelliasore, Bhadrak, Soro to serve the people (survival).<sup>61</sup> The Relief Committee members issued tickets to people considering their economic conditions. The number of hungry people increased so much that to avoid overflow of hungry people, crash tickets were issued. About 3,000 to 9,000 people were being fed daily by relief centres. It gradually increased.<sup>62</sup> Muspratt, the Collector and Shortt, Assistant Collector, Balasore earned unflinching admiration for their

<sup>58</sup> L.S.S. O'Mally, District Gazetteer Balasore, p.160.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p.159.

<sup>60</sup> R.J.F., Vol.II, p.246.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p.406.

<sup>62</sup> B.M. Bhatia, Famine in India, p.69 ; Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.37.

social service to multitudes in relief camp. European residents and rich native of Balasore extended their help and service to the famine stricken people.

Nearly one-fourth ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) of the people taking food in the relief camp at Balasore <sup>belonged</sup> to neighbouring Tributary States. People forgot their social status or caste status, before the pangs of hunger. The sight of the relief centres was heart-rendering. Food distribution was beyond control. In the words of O'Mally: "the food distribution which Commissioner witnessed in April was a scene of utter confusion, the starving crowds were beyond management, fell on the Commissioner, snatching from his hands and pockets the pice which he intended to distribute". The hungry people could not wait for rice and Relief Committee was bound to give them uncooked rice.<sup>63</sup>

Destitutes beggars gripped by acute hunger and disease and physically handicapped gathered in large numbers on the roads of Balasore. Bhadrak and Balasore stations were packed up by those emaciated people.<sup>64</sup> The Zamindars of Balasore contributed one thousand rupees a month towards the support of the hungry people of Balasore.

#### Shyamananda Dey's Relief to the Famine Stricken People:

During this famine Shyamananda Dey, a Zamindar of Barabati, Balasore did his best to give relief to the famine stricken people. Shyamananda Dey was "deeply affected at the sight of the sufferings around him, he opened an Annachhatra

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<sup>63</sup> L.S.S. O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.157.

<sup>64</sup> C.E. Buckland, Bengal (Under the Lt. Governors, Vol.I, p.350.

(free food distribution centre) at the town and distributed cooked rice and cloth to the famishing poor on a liberal scale. He imported a large quantity of rice from Burmah and Arracan and distributed it as gratis among his relatives, neighbours and tenants that needed help. Besides, he granted remissions of rent to his tenants to the extent of nearly a lakh of rupees".<sup>65</sup>

"In 1866, he spent about Rs.5,000/- in distributing rice and cloth to the poor. He also spent large sums of money in the excavation of tanks and the sinking of wells both in town and Mufussil, wherever the want of good drinking water was felt."<sup>66</sup>

T.E. Ravenshaw wrote to Shyamananda Dey, conveying the Lieutenant Governor's appreciation of the latter's help to the famine-stricken people in the following words: "I am requested by his Honour the Lt. Governor of Bengal to convey to you the thanks and approbation of Government for the active liberality and assistance rendered by you to your tenants during the past season of famine and distress. Government have learned with pleasure of approval of your munificent gifts of cloth, money and food to the people of Balasore."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Balasore Raj Family, pp.8-9.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p.10.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 47-56.

Shyamananda Dey, distributed cloth, food and money among the destitutes. Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy of India appreciated Shyamananda Dey's generosity and wrote a letter to him.<sup>68</sup> The letter reads as follows: "In recognition of your liberality during the Orissa famine of 1866 and of your several acts of public and private charity in the district of Balasore, I hereby confer upon you the title of "Raj Bahadur" as a personal distinction".<sup>69</sup>

Balasore had in all 22 feeding centres. The distance from one Relief Camp to the other was 5 to 22 miles. Besides shops were opened at 7 places in Balasore town.<sup>70</sup> The famine Commission of 1878 in its report estimated that 3,98,047 maunds of rice had been sent to Orissa<sup>71</sup> by the end of December, 1866 and the total amount of money spent in Orissa in this dire famine was around Rs.1,45,00,000/-.<sup>72</sup> The traders tried to bring grain from Calcutta sometimes on bullocks but rain in June 1866 became a hurdle.

<sup>68</sup> Shyamananda Dey, a Tamali by caste was born in Balasore in 1817. His fore-father came from Hooghly. He was a member of Education and Red Cross Committee and Local Municipal Body, Balasore. He died in 1888. Government conferred Raj Bahadur title on him in 1875. Balasore Raj Family, p.295.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.64.

<sup>70</sup> L.S.S. O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.159.

<sup>71</sup> C.E. Duckland; Bengal Under the Lt. Governors, Vol.I., pp. 360-361.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p.330.

### Missionary Activities:

There were few establishments of Christian missionaries in the Balasore town belonging to the free will Baptist from Dover New Hampshire.<sup>73</sup> Their main camp was in Balasore, where 154 converts, some of whom were placed in higher positions in Government. Some were industrious merchants and some were peasants. Their outstation was situated near Jellasore in north Balasore where around 85 native Christians were cultivators. There was another centre at Mitrapur near Balasore in Nilgiri Tributary State consisting of 31 persons. There were two schools of orphan children who were rescued from the clutch of the famine where 112 converts lived who were looked after by some nuns. Rev. Father Sapart was head of the Roman Catholic mission in Balasore.<sup>74</sup> The orphanages faced dire misery. The asylum at Jellasore was organised and maintained by Rev. Phillips, with a strength of 30 to 40 girls. The famine of 1866 and flood in the last quarter of the year created so much anomaly in the day to day routine of their life that the missionary people made an appeal which is an extract of a letter at Balasore by Rev. A. Miller: "We have no seed to sow and no money to buy it and nothing to eat while we cultivate. Besides our houses are unthatched and the rains at hand and we have no straw to thatch them".<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> - Samal, Orissa Under the British Crown. p. 3

<sup>74</sup> W. W. Hunter, Orissa, p. 41.

<sup>75</sup> R.C.F., Vol. II, pp. 230, 318.

J. S. Sykes a merchant of Calcutta who happened to be a missionary friend of Miller at Cuttack opened a "Orissa Famine Fund". He collected 18,000 rupees and Rev. Miller distributed this amount through their relief organisations. After the departure of famine, hundreds were loitering on the roadside. The Hindu society did not give liberal treatment towards them and treated them simply as beggars, but the benevolent and humanitarian Christian Missionaries embraced them like their sons and took care of them. Their own Hindu brethren became more enemical than the cruel nature.<sup>76</sup>

#### Balasore port:

The Balasore port proved very useful during the famine as transportation of food-stuff on land was impossible due to lack of railways and existence of unbridged rivers. The port that had developed since 17th century with Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, French, English Settlements became the only solace of people for import of rice from outside. Balasore was at that time considered as the chief port in Orissa. Even during the famine years of 1865 and 1866, 6 vessels loaded with rice imported from Calcutta and Burmah used to cast anchor at Balasore port.<sup>77</sup> Balasore was having a better anchorage. Cargo could be landed there with better facility than at False point or Pooree. Even where rice was selling at Rs.4/- a maund

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<sup>76</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan, p.37.

<sup>77</sup> R.C.F., Vol.II, p.272 ; T.F. Ravenshaw Commissioner of Cuttack Division to Secretary, Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, No.91, dated 9 June, 1866.

orders were sent in the month of June 1866 to book rice from Rangoon through Brisborne & Company to carry the same in a ship to Balasore and Dhamra.<sup>78</sup> Further when the relief centres were working at Balasore, the Magistrate of Balasore Muspratt informed the Government that rice required for distressed people here could easily be sent to Balasore port where it would be unloaded by sloops of the port.<sup>79</sup> Another port was Churaman on the Gumtie river (Bhadrak Sub-Division) in Balasore which was the safest and central port. Vessels carrying 4,000 maunds of goods could come down here at high water and lie on the mud, when the tide fell.

Things could be carried from here to "Salt Road" (which runs from Balasore town towards Basudevpur parallel to National Highway) in similar crafts to be distributed at Bhadrak, Soro and other places. The river was narrow and during high tide boats could pass. About 10 to 15,000 maunds might be sent to this port and distributed over the district.<sup>80</sup> The report of the Master Attendant. A. Bond describes that the crafts carrying the burden of 4 to 6 thousand maunds used to come to Dhamra port in Balasore district and could easily enter the river and discharge cargoes onshore safely.<sup>81</sup> During the month of May, 1866 when people were perishing in famine, Ravenshaw telegraphed on 25 May, 1866: "Rice with utmost difficulty procurable in sufficient quantity at 4½ Cuttack seer per rupee.

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<sup>78</sup>R.C.F., Vol.II, p.272; Hon'ble Sir Cecil Beadon, Ltd. Governor Bengal to R. E. Chapman, Secy. to the Board of Revenue.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p.246. Telegram from Magistrate of Balasore to Jt. Secretary, Government of Bengal, 17 May 1866.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., pp.299-300.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p.300.

Bazars were partially closed. Commissariat have refused assistance. One day's rations in store for troops who are reported discontented. Public and relief works stopped for want of food. I recommend immediate importation of rice for use of troops for jails and to feed labourers on relief works to supply food to starving through Relief Committee. Rice can be landed at Balasore river, false point or mouth of Dhamra river for Cuttack."<sup>82</sup> Immediately rice was sent from Calcutta to Balasore on the orders of Sir C. Beadon. In June 1866, a rupee fetched 5 seers of coarse rice. Hence the favourable position and navigability of Balasore port could be easily imagined. But as O'Mally writes a cargo carrying 10,000 maunds of rice that came in August to Balasore Budhabalanga river had to stay 8 miles away from shore. No steamer was available to bring such rice to town. Hence the vessel returned with rice. He writes: "thus the supply of rice was unexpectedly snatched away almost from the mouth of the people when it was most needed."<sup>83</sup>

The names of the vessels that reached Balasore were Tubal Cain, Nemesis, Celebrity, Teesta, Conqueror, Aracan, Royal, Bride, The Guide, Feroze, Gibb, Dolphin etc. The Balasore port proved to be very useful port for importing rice during the crucial period of famine of 1866. Balasore port, a seat of

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<sup>82</sup>C.E. Buckland, Bengal Under the 11. Governors, Vol.I, pp. 348-349.

<sup>83</sup>L.S.S. O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, 1907, p.157.



export stood forth for import only, thereby did a yeoman's service to the perishing pitiable millions of Balasore in the pathetic hour of their life in 1866. Had not Balasore port been developed during the past years and navigability maintained then misery and mortality of Balasore people would have lamentably increased by the stroke of famine because the (delaying) construction of coastal canal in Orissa failed to serve as a means of communication and moreover the unmetalled road from Calcutta to Orissa passed through jungles infested by robbers. There was no railway link too. The sea route was the only communication which made up the communication gap. In 1868 the famine Commission apprised the Government about the navigability and usefulness of Chandbali, Laichampur, Dhamra, Balasore, Churaman Sartha ports ....

#### Role of Press:

As the bureaucracy in the Bengal Government did not properly sympathise with the famine-stricken people in Orissa the condition of the people continued to remain wretched. In such a moment of the people of Orissa, the press did not remain a silent spectator, it tried to bring to limelight the ignominy of the system of Government functioning in Bengal which needed explanation.

In spite of the report of the Collector of Balasore that the out-turn of the crop of 1865<sup>84</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the previous year, as described above. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner, Cuttack

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<sup>84</sup>C.E. Buckland, Bengal Under the Lt. Governors, Vol.I, p.334.

Division showed signs of relaxation in the interference of trade, leading to the decision that the Mahajans had plenty of rice which fairly could meet the requirement of different districts of Orissa for some months. He did not take Muspratt, Collector of Balasore into confidence whose field survey tended to be more authentic than anybody else. He could have verified the Collector's view. Similar view was held by Ravenshaw while intimating the Bengal Government. But when the labourers regretted to accept wages for rice, Ravenshaw was forced to inform the Board of Revenue to send rice immediately for Balasore. On 3rd November, 1865 Messrs Lisborne & Co. of Calcutta made correspondence with Board of Revenue for importing rice to Orissa to meet the scarcity of food caused by famine. But no notice was taken. The Board recommended policy for private liberality through local relief committees instead. Ravenshaw was absent in coastal district from 2nd December to 31 January, 1866,<sup>85</sup> as he was on his visit to Tributary Mahals. Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lt. Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa accompanied by G.F. Cockburn, member Board of Revenue visited Orissa on 13 February. A durbar was held in his honour attended by 20 Rajhas (twenty) of Mahals, 80 (eighty) Zamindars and covenanted and uncovenanted Officers of the districts. Beadon never visited areas of scarcity nor the Commissioner or his officers apprised him of the gravity

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<sup>85</sup> C.E. Buckland, Bengal Under the Ltd. Governors, Vol. I, p.375.

of the situation. Beadon informed the Viceroy after his return on the 19 February to Calcutta<sup>86</sup> that rice import was "not necessary or expedient".

In this helpless situation when the lack of administrative guidance of the famine in Orissa made matters worse, the press highlighted the misery of the people, the neglect of the Government in Bengal and published faithfully the true lamentable picture of the famine period and reflected more forcefully the matter on the Government and awakened the public. It was heard even in so distant a place by the home Government in Britain. To the above statement of Beadon, "Hindu Patriot" reacted sharply. It continued thus "When the height of starvation was visible at Balasore that the attention of the European press and public was fully aroused".<sup>86</sup> Utkal Dipika, an Oriya publication from Cuttack highlighted the famine situation and commented on the delaying policy of the officialdom. In fact, it became a mirror of the then Orissa. On 12th March the Government of India made enquiry about the distress in Orissa. Ravenshaw visited Balasore on 20 April.

On 24 April, "Englishman" another paper, published monthly subscription amounting to Rs.1,255/- in toto contributed by Mr. Musprett (Collector Balasore), A . Bond, Baboo Shyamananda Dey,<sup>88</sup> Muddun Mohun Dass (Barabatti), Neerkul Heebe Jogiat, Podu Lochan Mondul, Ram Mohan Das with an appeal

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<sup>86</sup> C.E. Buckland, Bengal Under the Lt. Governor, Vol.I, p.342.

<sup>87</sup> Hindu Patriot, 5 March 1866; C.E. Buckland, Bengal Under the Lt. Governor, Vol.I, p.347.

<sup>88</sup> Letter of Viceroy Northbrook to Sri Dey, Balasore, 21 May 1875, Balasore Raj Family, p.11.

to contribute to the Balasore Relief Committee. It not only boosted the morale of the people but drew the attention of many generous people and charitable institutions to extend their help and sympathise with the cause of sufferers. On 28 April, R.B. Chapman, Secretary to the Board of Revenue wrote to the Editor: "Englishman" for some months past the aged and feeble have been dropping off for want of food.<sup>89</sup>

On two other occasions in May, "Englishman" wrote "The starving poor of Orissa" and "The people are dying in Orissa while rice is superabundant in Arakan". The news items on Orissa famine worked like a miracle in this grave hour when the whole Government machinery seemed to be asleep. Many news letters on Orissa used to come out in the press anonymously. It can be aptly termed as a mammade famine.

#### Absence of Yellow Journalism:

If Balasore Port became a silent physical support to lift the food for life, then press here in Orissa and India in the dark hour observed its creed as a vehicle of communication to carry solemnly the message of "yell for food" of masses of dried up stomachs and parched lips to the house of commons in England. It was only the press in Oriya and English language that took up famine as an issue and influenced the people, Government machinery in India and authority in England in a very short time. As a result, surreptitious move of the Government was exposed and steps were taken for amelioration of the sorrowful plight of the masses. It is difficult to

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<sup>89</sup>C.E. Buckland, Bengal Under the Lt. Governor, Vol.I, p.348.

imagine the fate of Orissa and Balasore in particular had there not been such "Tree Press" in India during British rule. The issue became a motion on the floor of the house of commons in England that was tabled on 2nd August 1867 with reference to the report of the Famine Commission and the Secretary of State's despatch of 25 July on the Famine of Orissa. The Secretary of State, Sir Strafford Northcote frankly admitted "This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure".<sup>90</sup> The Secretary of State in his despatches categorically wanted separation of Orissa from Bengal presidency for he understood that lack of attention by the administrative authorities caused such devastation.<sup>91</sup> In England he could foresee the future danger to Orissa if it still remained included in Bengal Presidency.

The thirty years settlement that began in 1837 expired in 1867. When the entire province suffered from famine the settlement work ceased to operate. In 1868 on account of the revision of the boundary, 150 estates were transferred to Balasore district. This portion was governed by permanent settlement Regulation of 1793.<sup>92</sup> Hence it was prolonged up to 1897 for another span of 30 years. The result of famine was very significant in many respects. The estates increased in number as well as the landlords.

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<sup>90</sup> C.E. Buckland, Bengal Under the Lt. Governors, Vol.I, p.386.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p.290.

<sup>92</sup> Maddox Report., Vol.II, p.443.

Aftermath:

The famine of 1866 proved an eye-opener for the British authorities. They realised that Orissa had been neglected. Some beneficent measures were adopted in the post famine years. Famine changed the fate of Balasore and Orissa. Improvement of canal system, removal of communication gap, irrigational facilities, growth of education, widening of outlook, cooperation became immediate concerns of the administration. If such steps to ameliorate the conditions in different fields were not taken up, the administration would earn ~~discredit~~ <sup>itself</sup> which might ultimately weaken the administration. This was felt by the highest British administrative authority in England. This was more added by 1857 sepoy mutiny, a previous warning in the decade. Government took some measures to remedy the evil. It paid attention to open up educational institution in Balasore and Orissa at large to make people more conscious about their requirements. Orissa coast canal could not help the famine stricken-people of Orissa because of its delay in construction. It was taken up later in 1880 even though it functioned in 1885. Water route through Dhamra river was made accessible. Roads were constructed. It was expressed by the Commission that maximum money was spent to relieve the suffering of people but mortality could not be checked. Government felt that had earlier steps to improve the condition of Orissa been taken up then more money would not have been spent nor it would have made so enormous the number of mortality.

## CHAPTER - V

### GROWTH OF SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a remarkable growth of socio-political consciousness all over India because of the spread of education, press and communication. Out of that consciousness, the nationalist movement took shape and the country marched on the path towards self-government. In Orissa this socio-political consciousness had two directions; on the one hand this consciousness manifested itself as a part of the larger national identity and on the other hand it assumed the shape of a movement for the merger of all Oriya-speaking tracts so that Oriyas could not feel neglected in their own soil and freely develop their social, cultural and political identity. In the post famine period and onwards Balasore district significantly contributed to the growth of socio-political consciousness in the two directions mentioned above.

### Growth of New Education:

Introduction and growth of a new educational system under the aegis of British Government played a pivotal role in the growth of socio-political awakening in the Balasore district as elsewhere. Though initially social conservatism posed obstacles to the spread of the new education, yet with the passage of time the people of Balasore showed greater keenness than the people in the rest of Orissa in receiving this new education and played a leading part in the movement for Oriya identity as well as national identity. The movement to protect the Oriya language from extinction and promote its development and the movement to obtain a new political and administrative status for the Oriyas were the products of the spread of the new education.

Initially the people looked upon the Government Schools as infidel institutions. At Bhadrak, "the people not only take no interest but many of them entertain most absurd notions of the intentions of Government believing that the children if allowed to attend school will eventually be taken away from their parents and sent to England."<sup>1</sup> For a long time education of girls could not make any satisfactory progress because of social conservatism. Public schools could not be frequented by girls of the respectable classes.

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<sup>1</sup> A.J.Mills to Sudder Board of Revenue 13 April, 1846, Report on the Vernacular Education for 1845, Vol. July December, 1846(BRA), No.704.



#### A. Indigenous Educational System:

Before the British Government took steps to establish primary schools in the villages, there were indigenous schools called Pathsalas Chahalis or Chatsalis. Such schools were run by a class of teachers who were called Abadhanas, Guru or Guruji.<sup>2</sup>

Fakir Mohan Senapati has described about this type of schools elaborately in his autobiography. As he points out, in morning hours the pupils used to write and in the afternoon they used to read lessons written on palm leaf. In village Pathsalas the course of instruction was reading print and manuscript writing from dictation, arithmetic, zamindari and bazaar accounts.<sup>3</sup> Also moral teaching was imparted to the pupils.

He writes that being a pupil, he had to take care of the Abadhana or the teacher for whose maintenance he used to go around village to collect cash or kind which the Abadhan received as salary. Sometimes pupils had to sing songs from door to door in villages and collect the same.<sup>4</sup>

Village schools used to function in wide places of temples, on big and high verandah of rich man's house or under big trees.

<sup>2</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.8.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

The mode of teaching was very stern in those days. Beating by thin branches of the trees, canetoo was the normal practice. Sometimes, the pupils were asked to kneel down on small pebbles or on the line of ants. Half leg standing was one of the punishments.<sup>5</sup> They were also asked to stand as a 'chair'. Hanging ears was as if no cruelty. These are even though vanishing today because of advancement of education, yet such type of punishments to children are not uncommon today at the end of 20th century in villages and town. The guardians in those days gave their sanction to teachers for exercise of such punishment.

This cruelty was so severe that pupils to save themselves from the wrath of teacher abstained from attending Pathasalas. It is certainly one of the demerits of primary education. Sometimes guardians measured their children's study on the basis of cane stripes on their back. It was also the tradition that the first pupil who was beaten on palm slowly and beating by number increased according to the seriality of pupil's daily attendance in class. This created a fear complex in the children for which they became more punctual.<sup>6</sup>

He writes that in his school days, in the fifties of 19th century there were no printed books except the Bible in Oriya.<sup>7</sup> There was a school run by a Christian Father. But the common

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<sup>5</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Sanyal, p.7.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> The first Oriya Book and the Oriya version of the Bible, New Testament Utkal Dipika, p.14, 3rd November 1866.

feeling was that one would lose caste if one underwent such type of education in that school run by Christians.<sup>8</sup> Naturally Hindu pupils abhorred it and did not join it for fear of losing their caste. From 1827 onwards the missionaries started schools at Balasore. Even before that 'Pike' family seemed to have started a school in Balasore in 1813-15.<sup>9</sup> The schools run by missionaries were 25 to 30 in number. In 1840 the missionaries opened schools in Jaleswar for Scheduled Tribes. 26 students were boarders.<sup>10</sup>

#### B. Primary School:

Efforts were made after 1866 to improve village pathshalas by bringing them under a prescribed standard and maintenance too. The teaching in such village schools (private) was as satisfactory that attempts were made in the Government level to convert them to primary schools.

Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant Governor made a sincere effort in 1872 to improve primary education in the country which became his great object for which he wanted to render necessary financial assistance i.e. for "reading, writing and arithmetic in the real indigenous language and character of such province".<sup>11</sup> He wanted to provide grant-in-aid to men of the purely indigenous school master class, who imparted education at the foundation

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<sup>8</sup> Balasore Zilla School Souvenir, 1853, p. XII.

<sup>9</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati.

<sup>10</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p. 284.

<sup>11</sup> General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, p. 4.

level. This grant was Rs.5/- per each village school. The new system of grant-in-aid schools received quarterly grants.

In 1872, there were 4,471 children in 213 Pathasalas of Balasore and Puri.<sup>12</sup> In 1872-75, there were only 5,474 children who continued instruction in 172 primary institutions. The growth of primary education proved to be remarkable in the next decade.<sup>13</sup> We know from the Sambad Bahika (the Oriya paper) of 18-4-78 that there were 1,341 primary schools in Balasore in comparison to 258 in Puri and 270 in Cuttack. The number of school was 2,111 in 1883-84 and the number of pupils 32,915.

In 1906 there were 1,571 primary schools in the district having 31,542 students. Of these 30,583 were Hindus, 629 were Muhammedans, 42 were native Christians and 288 were Scheduled Tribes (Santal, Bhuyans, Kolhas). As many as 8 schools were opened for them.<sup>14</sup> During this period the cost of educating pupil was Rs.2-12-0 per annum and State bore no share. Primary school grew up because of the patronage of the local people.<sup>15</sup> Impressed with the satisfactory progress of primary education in the Balasore district, the Commissioner Ravenshaw observed: "Balasore district has made the best and most solid progress, a more or less definite standard of primary education has been insisted on." In furtherance of the scope of primary education,

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<sup>12</sup>General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, p.4.

<sup>13</sup>L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.284.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.284.

he indicated inauguration of elementary Oriya books for primary schools which were prepared at his orders. Thus he wrote: " I propose prohibiting aid to any primary school that will not adopt the prescribed elementary book".

When Campbell thought of extension of education to masses in primary level, the method of teaching imparted by the teachers exhibited still harmful in human temperament without any change as narrated earlier. The teachers thought it proper that by losing temper exhibiting in different actions they would be able to bring children under their control and the children would have access to their teaching. This method of teaching rather created indifference of the students to scholastic instructions and fear among the children led them to tell lies as fear breeds lies. It destroyed the inner potentialities of a child. Sometimes the child became revengeful and some abstained from education. We cite here the remark on the teaching method of the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Balasore in 1872 thus: "The method of imparting instruction by the teacher instead of developing the mental qualities of the children, invariably spoils, where it cannot destroy these qualities. The relation of an Abadhan to his pupils instead of being that of a father to a child is made to be that of a task master to a slave, the endeavour of the one being as much to scourge as is that of the other to deceive and avoid. When a poor boy has not been able to understand something (because it is difficult) or has been able to commit a Sanskrit "slok" to memory, Woe unto him; he is lashed mercilessly. The influence

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of an indigenous teacher is very vitiating and it should be our endeavour to reclaim these professional enemies of the country".<sup>16</sup>

### 3. Middle Vernacular Schools:

In Balasore vernacular school students were taught Primer, Aesops, Fables, Grammar, Arithmetic, element of geography and vernacular reader containing historical sketches of Orissa. Both Oriya and Bengalêe were taught.

In 1856-57, there were 2 vernacular schools in Balasore district with a strength of 99 pupils.<sup>17</sup> Two aided vernacular schools were at Mubarakpore and Sunhat. The roll strength of students in the district in 1870-71 had increased to 1,252 in 28 schools. This improvement was spectacular compared to the state of affairs in 1856. It went on gradually with a remarkable development.

In this context, the efforts of T.E. Ravenshaw to open and establish vernacular schools in villages of Orissa is most admirable.

The third category of secondary schools was the middle vernacular school that taught up to middle scholarship. Those were 10 in 1872-73.<sup>18</sup> A middle vernacular school was there in Remuna in 1864.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup>Public Instruction Report 1871-72, p.377 (General Report on Public Instruction Bengal); Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.7.

<sup>17</sup>L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.284.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 282-83.

<sup>19</sup>A brief History of the Balasore Raj Family, pp.20,22.

Raja Baikuntha Nath Dey of Barabati also founded one such school at Anantapur (Soro) in 1890.<sup>20</sup> There was also a middle vernacular school at Santipore near Jalaswar receiving aid from Government. In such type of schools 'Vernacular (Oriya)' was the only recognised course of studies.

#### D. English Schools:

(1) Fakir Mohan writes that there was an English School at Balasore in the first part of 19th century i.e. around 1834. There were only 5 students in the school which included Siba Prasad Choudhury (his father-in-law), Ganga Prasad Choudhury, Bichitrananda Das, Atal Bihari Paul and a Bengali boy. He writes that their family was the first to join English school education, female education, zanana education in Balasore.<sup>21</sup> This school failed to impart education for a long time and was closed. He adds that there was one Persian Honorary School at Balasore where teachers used to teach how to write a letter and an application too. That was the standard.<sup>22</sup>

The middle english schools had curriculum up to middle scholarship examination (selected from 5th class). The English was taught as one of the subjects in course of studies. There were 2 such schools in the district in 1872-73. In 1884-85, there were only four such schools in the district. In 1887 Victoria

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<sup>20</sup> A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family, p.18.

<sup>21</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.8.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

Jubilee M.E. School was founded in Barabati near the present road crossing (coal depot) that leads to K.K.S. Women's College.<sup>23</sup> The number of such schools increased to 11 in the year 1905-06. Of these, 11 schools, 3 were situated in the town area and were sided by education Department, 7 were aided by District Board and one was unaided.

(11) High English Schools:

The number of High English Schools was one in 1878 but it reached 3 in<sup>24</sup> 1883-84 and 4 in 1905-06. These four schools teaching up to Entrance Standard were running smoothly in the district of Balasore with full deficit or grant-in-aid system of payment. These were Balasore Zilla School, Baptist Mission High School (1893), third at Bhadrak and the fourth at Laxmannath village in the north of the district near Jaleswar.<sup>25</sup>

The Balasore Zilla School was maintained by Government and the others were running under grant-in-aid rules. Students generally belonged to the family of Bengalee immigrants, Government servants and professional man in the district. The annual cost of schooling per student was Rs.32-6-0 and the cost of public funds amounted to Rs.6-5-0.

Vernacular was Oriya for Oriyas and Bengalee for Bengalee pupils. In Junior Classes previously English was the only medium of instruction and Oriya teaching was negligible.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family, p.10.

<sup>24</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.282.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.283.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.; Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.8.



The total number of students who went to appear Entrance Examination of 1906 was 20. Out of these 20, six students became successful.<sup>27</sup>

Balasore people were anxious to teach their children English. This was a long pending issue since 1833. It was declared in October, 1853 to open school at Balasore and Puri.<sup>28</sup>

(iii) Balasore Zilla School:

Balasore Zilla School was established in the present premises of Fakir Mohan College with a simultaneous opening of Zilla schools ~~one~~ at Puri and ~~another~~ at Cuttack. It was established on the 1st November, 1853. In 1873, it really took shape as Balasore Zilla School.<sup>29</sup>

In 1853, Biswanath Singh was the Headmaster. He was drawing a salary of Rs.150/-. There were three teachers for 3 classes with a roll strength of 84 students. The teachers' scale of pay varied from Rs.30/- to Rs.150/-. Subjects of study were Press Reader, Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, History of Rome, English, Geometry, History. "No school fee was realised for the month of November 1853 to mark the opening of the school. From the month of December 1853, school fee was collected at the rate of annas eight per student. It was raised to one rupee in the year 1857-58".<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore.

<sup>28</sup> Letters issued 1846, Vol.97, Letter No.1463 dt. 13.3.1846 from Orissa Commissioner to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal.

<sup>29</sup> Correspondence Register, Visitors Book, Balasore Zilla School, Centenary Souvenir-1953; General Report of the Public Instruction-1852-55, p.XXX.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

One Alfred Bond, a Captain of a ship and one zamindar of Balasore seemed to have patronised the establishment of the school. In 1858-59, there were 263 books in the library of the school.<sup>31</sup> Provision of teaching up to entrance standard was introduced in Balasore Zilla School in 1854. Radhanath Ray was the first to pass entrance standard from Balasore in 1863.<sup>32</sup> For such entrance standard students had to read 'Jiban Charit' and Sankuntala, Mahabharat in Bengalee, Hitoupledasa in Oriya, Raghubansa and Rumsarsambhaba in Sanskrit and some English books.

Balasore Zilla School had fifty students in 1857-58 in December 1858-59 when B. Kendall was officiating Secretary and Baboo Poorna Chandra Shome was Headmaster of Balasore Zilla School, the report of the Council States, "on the 20th December last, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal visited the institution accompanied by the Reverend Mr. Long and E.F. Cockburn Esq. Commissioner".<sup>33</sup> From 1858 the supervision of the school was shifted from Commissioner to Inspector of Schools.

Fakir Mohan while narrating about his school days in his autobiography has mentioned that the second master of Balasore Government School, Siba Chandra Som started a Government aided school in Barabati.<sup>34</sup> Both Bengalee and Oriya were taught there. Its name was Barabati Bangoktala School. He writes that in

<sup>31</sup>Correspondence Register, Visitors Book, Balasore Zilla School, Centenary Souvenir, 1953; General Report of the Public Instruction 1852-55, p.XXX.

<sup>32</sup>Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.20

<sup>33</sup>Balasore Zilla School Centenary Souvenir, 1953.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p.13.

in Class I of Balasore Government School, pupils used to read Bengulee Book Sambadsar, Geography of Pears, Grammar and Arithmetic by Kith. Later on books on Elephant and horse were written on Government help.<sup>35</sup>

#### E. Other Categories of Schools:

A good number of special type of schools with instruction of special kind grew up in Balasore from one in 1870-71 to 24 in 1905-06. The students strength raised from 30 to 438 in course of these 35 years.<sup>36</sup> These were training, technical and 'sanskrit 'tols' (school for Sanskrit).

On the whole, there were 4 training schools, 3 for male teachers and one for school mistresses in the entire district. In 1875 Balasore stood first in a comparative study of improvement among the districts according to the Joint Inspector because it had the largest number of training Gurus as many as 155 out of a total of 189. Of the first 3 schools one that was at Balasore was a second grade Guru training school wholly managed by Government, imparting training Assistant Pandits of Middle Schools and Head Pandits of Upper Primary Schools.

The other two schools situated at Astapur and Dolasahi were also maintained by the education department. These were third grade or sub-divisional Guru (training) school where primary teachers underwent training.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Balasore Zilla School Centenary Souvenir 1953, pp.13,16.

<sup>36</sup> L.B.S.O'Hally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, 1907, p.284.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

Female teachers also underwent training at a training class for mistresses. This was established by Baptist Mission in Santipore (Hatigarh) near Jaleswar aided by provincial Government.<sup>38</sup>

In 1895, there was only one 'technical school' in Balasore district, situated at Alalpur. The roll strength of the school was 21. In 1906, Missionaries opened a second school at Santipore attended by 93 students. Weaving by fly shuttle looms, sewing, carpentry, cane-work, gardening were taught in these schools.<sup>39</sup>

Around 1895-96, there were 9 Sanskrit tols attended by 146 pupils. The number of the schools had increased to 18 by 1906 with 293 students on the rolls. Some were aided and rest were unaided. Sriram Chandra Tol close to Motiganj in Bateswar now in the town was most successful institution then.<sup>40</sup>

F. Women's Education: ✓

In spite of the prevalence of conservative outlook of the then people of Balasore the Missionaries made commendable efforts to spread female education in the nineteenth century. Mrs. D.F. Smith<sup>41</sup> who hailed from America was the pioneer

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<sup>38</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore 1907, p.284.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.285.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p.285.

<sup>41</sup> General Report on the Public Instruction in Bengal, 1871-72, pp. 377-380.

amongst the missionary workers who rendered valuable services towards promotion of female education in Balasore called in other words 'Zanana education'. A report of Mrs. Smith of Balasore who did a yeaman's service to educate the girls, reveals: "Zanana work was commenced in Balasore in April 1869; at first there was a good deal of opposition to me, but the opposition gradually died away."<sup>42</sup> She worked in Balasore with the help of Baikuntha Nath De and his brother Satyendra Nath De of Barabati Raj Family for the advancement of women's education. "Mrs. Smith was the mother of female education here ... our large hearted and public spirited countryman Bebu Satendra Nath De was graciously pleased to create a fund called 'Mrs. Smith's Prize fund' with a view to encourage female education and to inspire our native girls with fresh impetus of competing for the prize. Every year a silver medal worth Rs.20/- is awarded out of this fund who stands first among girls in the M.V. examinations of the province of Orissa."<sup>43</sup> Baikuntha Nath De wrote books for girls such as 'Balika Path' (1880-1st Part) as there was want of books for girls. He started Hindu girls school in Barabati in 1872.

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<sup>42</sup> A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family, p.18.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p.22.

In 1870-71, 139 girls used to read in four schools that had been opened in Balasore.<sup>44</sup> When the number of schools increased to 128, students strength reached 3,884.<sup>45</sup> Of these four schools mentioned above, one was in the town, another was at Jaleswar and third was at Santipore, running under the auspices of Baptist Mission. The curriculum was up to the Middle Vernacular Standard. There were also 3 Upper Primary and 122 Lower Primary schools. These lower Primary schools included 16 Zanana classes taught by Christian teachers. They used to impart instruction to 252 'Pardanashin Hindu Ladies',<sup>46</sup> at their houses. There were two Kinder Garden Schools, one at Balasore town and another at Santipore.<sup>47</sup>

In 1875, it is revealed from the report of D.P.I. that out of nine girls and one Zanana association for girls, five were in Cuttack, one in Puri and the rest were in Balasore district.<sup>48</sup> One of these schools was unaided but the others were receiving aid. They were getting aid from Missionary Society's Management. The maximum number of girls reading in schools belonged to Bengalee families. The number of Oriya girls were comparatively less. There were also orphanages for girls in Jaleswar and Balasore. One school was looked after by Roman Catholic Convent.

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<sup>44</sup>L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.285.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1874-75, p.98.

In 1880, the girl schools were brought under certain categories.<sup>49</sup> The total number of girls under instruction was 2,416 in 1882. Of these, 823 attended special Girls' Schools and the rest boys schools. The special Girls' School were 33 in number, viz., 25 in Balasore, 6 in Cuttack and 2 in Puri. Of these, 20 were under Missionary Management and the rest were Hindu Girls' Schools. The best Hindu Girls' Schools were there 50 situated at Balasore, Cuttack and Bhadrak.<sup>50</sup>

In 1882, the Education Commission adopted programme for the spread of female education.<sup>51</sup> 'Read and Write' brought an awakening in the females the neglected class of society, whom conservative ideas, tradition of sex, class and caste barriers had clouded so long. The spread of education in female society was taken up by the Education Commission. The Simla Conference later on encouraged teaching of Zananas, providing them scope for grant-in-aid and inspecting agencies for supervision. Sir Alexander Pedlar, the Director of Public Instruction (1901-1902) praised the work of the Missionaries in the field of female education. He proposed the teachers' salary to be Rs.30/- per month.

Education of girls was mostly on urban phenomenon. Curiously enough, though the people were conservative regarding education of girls, there was spectacular increase in the attendance of girls after the introduction of co-education.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Annual General Administrative Report of the Orissa Division, 1880-81, p.62.

<sup>50</sup> J.K. Samal, Orissa Under the British Crown, p.284.

<sup>51</sup> H.A. Start, Vernacular Education in Bengal, p.143.

<sup>52</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.285.

"3791 girls' attended boys schools. In this respect Balasore occupies perhaps the highest position among Bengal districts".<sup>53</sup> In spite of the orthodoxy of Oriya females the rise of female education was remarkable which had been pointed out by Lt. Governor thus "the Lieutenant Governor is gratified to note that remarkable progress has been made in education among girls during recent years. This has been particularly marked in Balasore". At the end of the last quinquennium the number of girls reading in the district was 2,005. In 1900, two Mission Zangana Agencies in Balasore were functioning. They were guiding the schools for girls as well as looking after the education of females in their houses. The institutions received financial aid from the Government on the basis of their results.<sup>54</sup>

Teaching in houses by 'Hindu Ladies' began since 1902 in the district of Balasore. It was certainly a moral influence that worked because missionary teachers started teaching Hindu girls and married ladies. The teacher with her students in a house constituted a so called schools of those days.

In 1907, 17 such schools had 260 pupils as against 10 with 165 pupils in 1902. This type of house to house teaching attracted also elderly ladies, to elementary education. The lady teachers who used to go for house to house teaching were called 'Pathama'. 'Patha' means education and 'Ma' means mother.

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<sup>53</sup> L.S.S.O'Hally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, p.285.

<sup>54</sup> Report on the Progress of Education in the Orissa for the quinquennium ending 31 March, 1907, Chap.VIII.



So to acquaint females with education such names which would be accepted easily with sympathetic attitude by Oriya conservative females were given. In such names we mark love, sympathy, as well as regard for the lady teachers. In spite of purdah (screen) system used by ladies to cover their faces, female education became popular in certain families. The lady teachers were entertained with honour and cordiality. In 1909, 20 teachers were appointed for zanana teaching. They were all Christians. In 1910, the number of teachers employed by the Baptist Mission at Balasore was reduced.<sup>55</sup> Measures for encouraging female education were taken up while starting model primary schools for girls both by Government and by District Board and also in the employment of female teachers.<sup>56</sup> As stated earlier, school for mistresses (training) the standard being the middle vernacular, were started by the Baptist Missionary at Santipore aided by Provincial Government.

Spread of female education sometimes faced obstacles. Conservative people did not like their daughters to attend classes in a place outside, called 'Central gathering places' lest they might come in contact with others. But gradually combined and mass sitting in the school irrespective of caste, class and sex removed such mental barriers, orthodoxy and the system of teaching became more appealing which was impossible

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<sup>55</sup> Report on the Public Instruction of Bengal, 1909-10, p.221.

<sup>56</sup> L.S.S.O'Mally, District Gazetteer, Balasore, 1907, p.284.

at the initial stage. People began to understand the value of education. They did not like to keep their children in dark. During this period, the Brahmo Samaj was influencing the women section of society to be more modern and keeping oneself beyond religious barriers. Their mass meeting, prayers had tremendously influenced ladies of Balasore. If the girls of Balasore had joined public instruction, the role of Brahmo Samaj in Balasore should be taken into account. Their role was profoundly spectacular that broke a communication gap. In this connection, Fakir Mohan writes that as an Administrator, John Beams, the Collector of Balasore (1869-73) also patronised the spread of female education in Balasore.<sup>57</sup>

#### G. Role of Missionaries in the Spread of Education:

William Carry made his first landfall at Balasore after his departure from England in 1793. Thereafter, John Pater Baptist Missionary Society came to Balasore in 1812. These missionaries while preaching Gospels began to teach the same in their school. This is how they made a debut in the field of education.

Balasore had a few English residents and a physician. The climate was comparatively cool and healthy.

Messrs Noyes and Phillips who came to Balasore from Sambalpur in February, 1838 purchased a dwelling place and five acres of land for building school. They started a boarding school

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<sup>57</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.28.

with six children who accompanied with them from Sambalpur and naturally formed a nucleus for their boarding school. Those missionaries also started two 'dayschools', the average attendance of each was 25. These pupils were taught to read the Gospel.<sup>58</sup>

The Mission started the first Girls' U.P. School in present Balasram school compound in 1839.<sup>59</sup> In 1861, Mrs. Dorcas Smith took charge of girls from Miss Crawford.

#### H. Muhammedan Education:

There was one Maktab (school) in the district of Balasore in 1874. Arithmetic was taught there. 120 Musalman boys attended school and Pathshalas. There were 9 Maktabas in the district of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore in 1905-06 which were attended by 217 pupils. In 1906 the Muhammedan population of Orissa was 1,07,189 and 2.1 per cent of that population attended general education. Maktabas were closed as primary institutions after 1914.<sup>60</sup>

The Balasore district Board took the step to train Muhammedan teachers but the plan failed. In 1917, one training school was started at Bhadrak for Muhammedan teachers. The number of girls attending Primary Schools was negligible.

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<sup>58</sup> A Brief History of Free Baptist Indian Mission - Mrs. M.M. Ruteling Hills; and Interview with Miss Powers and Headmistress, Mission Girls' High School and Aijek Nayak at the residence of Miss Powers in June 1987.

<sup>59</sup> Log Book 1847, Mission Girls' High School; Interview with Mrs. Surabhi Sahu Ex-Inspector of Schools at her residence on 23 June 1987.

The Board of Mission School 1839 is still hanging at the gate of the School near the present Flyover.

<sup>60</sup> Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa Division in the Quinquennial ending 31 March, 1907.

(I). Teachers Condition:

In 1858, the curtailment of teacher's salary and increase of tuition fee doubly hindered the growth of education in the district. As a remark, the teacher and taught(pupil) were hard-pressed. Their contribution for the growth of education became more than that of the Government because teachers could run with a low salary without effecting the teaching. The Inspector's report reveals that the Headmaster's salary was reduced from Rs.150/- to Rs.100/-.<sup>61</sup> The schooling fee was increased from 8 annas to one rupee. It affected miserably the strength of the roll of the students. As a result, some students withdraw from the school. The monthly cost of education of each boy was Rs.2-12-5 and Government contributed Re.1-14-9 (2/3) the price of one text book was twelve annas which was more costly and beyond the capacity of common people to purchase for their children.

In Balasore most of the schools were located within the jurisdiction of Bhadrak and Balasore thana. Payments were made to the teachers through the agency of police, which is a departure from that of today.

J. Pitiable Condition of Pupils:

In 1866-67, there were 109 students in Balasore Government Vernacular School and the standard was very satisfactory. The library contained 888 English volumes and 206 vernacular volumes.

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<sup>61</sup> General Report on Public Instruction in Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency, pp.107,110.

In 1869-70, the library contained 1,259 books, out of which 260 were vernacular and 999 English. Normal school was opened in 1866 at Balasore.

The report of the Inspector of Schools to the D.P.I. describes that "thirty four students were struck off the rolls during 1866-67 for non-payment of schooling fees and fines whereas seventeen only were struck off for the same cause during 1865-66."<sup>62</sup>

The Administrative authority of the district was well aware of the hard time passed by the guardians of the district due to famine. Financially people were penniless, even after that when such inhuman destructive steps were taken against the growth of education it meant, the administration took no notice of the financial backwardness of the people and it was a deliberate attempt to check the growth of education in the district of Balasore as well as of the State. The education department could not be lenient to the poor pupils which is not uncommon and finds prevalence even today in the same circumstances of famine and flood.

The report of the Inspector of Schools runs thus: "I satisfied myself that though the great majority of the guardians of the pupils belonged to a class when the famine did in no way affect still a small proportion of those who sent their sons to school were very considerably reduced to circumstances and others suffered to some extent".<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> General Report of the Director of Public Instruction, 1866-67, p.215.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

### Growth of Press:

Towards the late sixties of the nineteenth century an educated middle class, however small in size was found in Orissa pulsating with the signs of new life. This class to an extent patronised by the feudal people like Rajas and Zamindars took the lead in safeguarding and fostering Oriya language and interests. Gourishankar Ray of Cuttack and Fakir Mohan Senapati of Balasore, the two earliest protagonists of Oriya language belonged to this class.

Fakir Mohan Senapati made pioneering efforts to establish a printing press in Balasore. In his autobiography he writes that because of want of published books, Oriya language could not spread in Balasore and Orissa and the people could not be educated. Want of press was due to the absence of an educated middle class. The number of printed books in Oriya language was inconsiderable. There were only few improperly written school books printed in Bengal. The classical heritage of Oriya literature was confined mostly to the palm leaf manuscripts. The enlightened Bengalees humiliated the Oriyas because they had been able to develop their language through press.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, pp.44.46.

Fakir Mohan formed an association to start a press named P.M. Senapati & Co. Utkal Press. The Association included Babu Jay Krushna Choudhury, Babu Bholanath Samantarey, Babu Damodar Prasad Das, Babu Radhanath Ray and Fakir Mohan himself. One share of the company was then Rs.5.00 only. Meetings were organised for the purpose of purchase of shares for the Press. He told many in the Balasore collectorate on it. An extract of the speech by him follows thus:<sup>65</sup>

"Those who will purchase Company's share will get much profit; the scriptures like Ramayana and Mahabharata if printed will sell at cheap rates. It would be much easier to read the printed books than the palm leaf manuscripts. It would not be necessary to sell for the special scriptures readers. The boys can easily acquire learning. No outsider can abuse the Oriyas as fools ....".<sup>66</sup>

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The adventure bore fruitful results. It was perhaps the third press in Orissa then. People could believe his words that there would be 'some machine' which could bring out printed materials because ~~at~~ that time Bengalee almanac, life sketch of Srichaitanya<sup>67</sup> and some other books were taught in the schools which could give an idea to them over printing.

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<sup>65</sup> Fakir Mohan Senapati was born in January 1845 in the locality of Malikaspur of Balasore town of Orissa. He championed the language movement with his literary compatriots like Madhusudan Rao, and Radhanath Ray. He lived for 75 years. He served as Dewan, Assistant Manager in Garjat area like Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Nilgiri, Dampara. He delivered unique novels, poems and short stories. He left for heavenly abode in June 1918.

<sup>66</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, pp. 44-46.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., p.46.

So he could collect funds around Rs.1,200/- after labouring hard for 4 months and more. Some joined this move for fame, others to begot money from money by purchasing shares. Then the word 'Composition or printer, pressman' were foreign to Balasore people. Fakir Mohan sent his maternal uncle's son to Calcutta to learn details over such work. It took him one year. He spent for him Rs.15/- per month for his expenditure in Calcutta.

Fakir Mohan brought printing materials from north Calcutta. He purchased one secondhand printing machine from Medinipur Mission Press. He brought it by bullock cart. Medinipur was 170 kms from Balasore. It took 5 days to reach Balasore. The length and breadth of the printing machine was 2'-0"/2'-0". It's height was 1½'. It was then only Rs.150/-.<sup>68</sup> His joy knew no bounds when he saw it.<sup>69</sup> All other materials relating to printing came from Calcutta in a Balasore ship.<sup>70</sup> To cover the distance from Calcutta to Balasore in water, it took around 10 to 20 days.

The work was started in his building in Motiganj, then heart of the town. People swarmed in innumerable numbers to see the machine. This was something unknown yet. Everybody was waiting for the outcome. But nothing came out. The technique in printing was wrong. Naturally the first printed paper looked

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<sup>68</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, pp.44-46.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.47.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.



black. No letter could be seen on the white paper pressed on the machine for printing. Even though it disappointed hundreds. Fakir Mohan was undaunted in his spirit and effort. He was never hopeless. He tried for another machine.

The second press was Super Royal Columbian (machine) Press. It was again brought from Calcutta. Fakir Mohan writes that one Kishorimohan Das, the younger brother of Zamindar Babu Mohan Mohan Das of Barabati gave him Rs.800/- without keeping any security to purchase this machine. This nobility has been highly praised by Fakir Mohan in his work.<sup>71</sup> The attitude of the Government towards the press was one of blessing and encouragement nor was the press seditious in its tone. Fakir Mohan was highly praised by the then Collector of Balasore, Bignold for his noble endeavour. Once in the morning previous Collector, John Beames and Bignold along with T.E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner visited the press. They admired Fakir Mohan's attempts for the advancement of Oriya language.<sup>72</sup> They helped Rs.10/- (ten) as a contribution for the advancement. Fakir Mohan instead of keeping it took it as a share. The administrators rightly considered, through press the Oriya language and literature could be developed. Radhanath Ray, the friend and contemporary writer praised Fakir Mohan's initiative thus: "The way you have tried to found press should be embossed in golden letters in history".<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.50.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p.51.

Similar initiative was taken up by Baikuntha Nath Dey of Barabati when publication of Oriya books was a dream to Balasore people. Raja Baikuntha Nath Dey, the proprietor, the son of Shyamananda Dey of Barabati started a printing house called 'Dey Press' (1873) in Balasore town. It was perhaps the fourth press in Orissa.<sup>74</sup> In 1899, Brajanath Dey being the proprietor established a press called 'Binod Press'.<sup>75</sup> Then 'Samanta Press' of Sunhat was also another Press of Balasore.

The increase in the number of press resulted in the phenomenal increase in the publication of books and periodicals in Oriya language.

#### Growth of Journalism:

With the spread of education and the growth and expansion of the educated middle class, the number of press went on multiplying. As a result of the establishment of press, a number of journals were brought out at Balasore. Fakir Mohan brought out the first journal of Balasore called 'Bodhadayini' from his press in 1868-69.<sup>76</sup> It was also edited by him. Rs.100/- (Rupees one hundred) was granted per annum to Bodhadayini at Balasore and Utkal Dipika at Cuttack by Lt. Governor at the suggestion and request of John Beames, the then Collector of Balasore and T.E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner, Orissa.

<sup>74</sup>Sambad Bahika, 30.11.72.

<sup>75</sup>Y. Samantaray, Oriya Sahitya Itihasa, p.175.

<sup>76</sup>Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.46.

In 1871 Bodhadayini was renamed as 'Bodhadayini O Balasore Sambad Bahika', having two parts.<sup>77</sup> The Bodhadayini part contained literature and Baleswar Sambad Bahika dealt with news. It was published in July 1868 as a monthly journal till 1871. There were 40/50 regular subscribers. It was made fortnightly 3 years later and lastly weekly in June 1872. To this journal patronage was subsequently accorded by the Samanta Zamindar family of Sunhat, Balasore.

Bhagwan Charan Das (Barabati) a Zamindar and devout Brahmo who used to allow Brahmo sittings at his home in the beginning stage of such movement at Balasore, published 'Utkal Subhakar' which carried the message of Brahmo faith.<sup>78</sup> This was published in Utkal Printing Press. Utkal Sanskar, a quarterly was published in August 1874.

After the publication of the Bodhadayini O Baleswar Sambad Bahika', Utkal Darnan<sup>79</sup>, another periodical was published in Balasore in January 1873 through the initiative of local zamindar Daikuntha Nath Dey. The advertisement for this paper came out on 30.11.1872 in Sambad Bahika. It was a literary magazine. Most of the poems were mainly contributed by Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Das. Radhanath Ray contributed articles like 'Meghdoot, Paban and Madhusudan Rao Nirbasitar Bilap, Snasan Ajodhya Pratyagaman Pitrubhakti. The writings gave a boost

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<sup>77</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan, p.46.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p.51

<sup>79</sup> C.S. Mohapatra, Orissa Patra Patrika; Autobiography of Fakir Mohan, p.409.

to the morale of Oriya literature movement. First it was fortnightly (1877), then monthly, quarterly and afterwards weekly. It was discontinued in December 1885. Utkal Dinika of 1878 writes that attempts to publish Utkal Madhupa in Balasore failed.

Utkal Sanskarak came out in January 1874 in Utkal Printing Company, Balasore.<sup>80</sup> Sikhyaka and Dharmabodhini, a periodical was published from Balasore in the month of May 1874 edited by Madhusudan Rao.

In 1882, Pralabandhu another Oriya periodical was brought out from the town. In 1883 Sibnarayan Noyak and Dwarikanath Das published Dhumaketu. Taraka was published in 1883-84 by Balasore Christian society in connection with Sabat School. It was published from Bhadrak in the month of June. It was a quarterly magazine.

In January, 1886-87, one Nava Sambad, weekly came out from Balasore edited by Bhupati Nath Basu. Satyendra Nath Dey was Manager of 'Nava Sambad'. Oriya<sup>81</sup> came out in 1887 from Palasore, ~~and~~ published from Balasore Utkal Press, Barabati street.<sup>82</sup> It was bilingual (Oriya and English). It devoted for the welfare of pilgrims visiting Sri Jagannath of Puri. Nababidhan

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<sup>80</sup> Sambad Bahika, 1-8-1874.

<sup>81</sup> A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family, p.298.

<sup>82</sup> C.S. Mohapatra, Grissar Patra Patrika; Balasore Raj Family, p.298.

a spokesman of Brahmos was published in 1884.<sup>83</sup> Sri Sri Hari-bhakti Prajavini (a marble plate on the wall in Bengali near the temple close to Mandal's house) a monthly magazine was published in April 1885. In 1887, August 26 Samvabadi was published in Balasore.<sup>84</sup>

The journals mentioned above played a very important role in promoting the growth of social, cultural and political consciousness. Through these journals, the people could be acquainted with progressive views and movements of the time like the Brahmo movement. The revival and development of dormant Oriya language and literature could be possible through them. Last but not the least these journals generated and sustained the Oriya movement by highlighting the negligence of Oriyas under the British rule.

#### Brahmo Faith in Balasore:

Always intellectuals cast light for a change in any age and country. They are torch bearers of the society. It happened in the later part of nineteenth century when Balasore was influenced by a new faith i.e. Brahmo Cult. Balasore was an adjacent district of Bengal and then people of Balasore were well conversant with Bengalee language which made much easier

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<sup>83</sup> Sambad, Oriya daily, 7-1-1987.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

for such faith to spread here. Moreover, Bengalees were residents in large numbers here. The role of Balasore was dynamic and boasting when it wedded to radical Brahmo faith advocated by social reformer Raja Ram Mohan Ray who began a new era in Indian socio-cultural movement forming the Brahmo Samaj in 1828.

Around 1855, the Brahmo reformer and preacher Ishan Chandra Basu<sup>85</sup> reached Balasore to spread this new faith. People like Bhagwan Das of Barabati used to attend meetings of Keshab Chandra ~~Sen~~ of Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta. Prayers and sittings continued for some time in the house of Bhagwan Das. Fakir Mohan Senapati in his autobiography has mentioned that one Prasanna Kumar Chatterjee used to stay near Jhadeswar temple<sup>86</sup> in Balasore town. The former accompanied by others used to observe the worship of such faith there for some time. Balasore people suspected the activities of such people as something abnormal and anti-social but they saw it was relating to prayers and discussions. Then they came to understand. The mis-understanding found no footing.

Fakir Mohan further describes in his autobiography that this Samaj continued its functions in a temple donated by the Raja of Mayurbhanj. Damodar Prasad Das,<sup>87</sup> Gobind Prasad Das, Jaya Krushna Chowdhury, Bholanath Babu were members of such Sabha. Sometimes during 1869 before the Samaj held its functions

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<sup>85</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.65.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., p.66.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., p.64 ; Utkal Sahitya, Vol.23, 4th Issue.

in the land donated by Raja of Mayurbhanj known as 'Rajakrotha'. Brahma Samaj had a small place of worship near Godipokhari close to the present site of Fakir Mohan College which was dedicated by Bhagwan Chandra Das of Barabati. A small broken small house and another very small sitting place close to the pond is still there. The place belongs to Brahma Samaj. Fakir Mohan used to sit on this place for prayer. In this age of renaissance Fakir Mohan could not accept the age old Hindu worship of Idols, images which to him was ridiculously superstitious nor could he accept Vaishnavism or Christianity which was fast spreading in Balasore just after the famine. He was beyond religious fanaticism. His very name was Fakir given by his grand-mother when he was at the death bed in his childhood. His grand-mother named him after that of Islamic faith to save him from death in childhood, so that the lord of death would not touch him. He wedded himself to Brahma faith, that speaks <sup>ne</sup> ~~ness~~ of a man which was the essence of Brahma faith. In 1874, a Brahmoouthpiece called Dharma Bodhini was brought out from the Balasore town. In 1875, a Brahma reformer from Bengal named Ram Kumar Bhattacharyya established two schools in Balasore town - one preaching Brahma ideas and another for giving general instruction.

In 1881-90, the Samaj of Balasore developed its units in many places of Balasore such as Manikhamb, Sindhia, Dinamardinga, Dehurda (Bhogarai). Those who spread such faith were Bhagwan Chandra Das, Govind Chandra Pattnaik, Padmalochan Das,

Jagabandhu Sinha, Aghorenanth Gupta, Pandit Ram Kumar Vidyaratna, Durgadas Datta, Kalindi Kamila and Raghunath Das.<sup>88</sup>

In a village called Sindhia beyond the Budhabalang river this Samaj grew up in 1881. Its 8th anniversary was observed in 1888. The establishment of such Samaj came out in papers like Utkal Dipika published from Cuttack. In Brahmo Samaj at Balasore, 40 male devotees and 18/12 female devotees used to attend the sessions. This included Oriya and Bengalees. Sometimes sessions of Brahmo Samaj of Balasore were observed in individual houses such as Ganesh Prasad Singh and Khetra Mohan Ray. In Manikhamb of Balasore the work of such Samaj was carried on smoothly. But in Bhadrak the activity was slow and not effective. In the year 1884, a unit of this Samaj was established in Dinamar Dinga of Balasore.<sup>89</sup> In April 1884, when Madhusudan Rao visited Balasore School he delivered a speech in Brahmo Mandir, Balasore on the descent of Divinity on earth.<sup>90</sup>

In 1889, the Samaj of Brahmo Mandir at Balasore, Sidhia Brahmo Samaj, Dinamardinga Brahmo Samaj unitedly celebrated the 59th Festival of 'Magho Utsab' with all sincerity. A good number of women and men of Samaj from Nabgram,<sup>91</sup> Manikhamb,

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<sup>88</sup> Natabar Samantaray, Oriya Sahityar Itihas, p.55 (also interview with him).

<sup>89</sup> Sevak, January 1884.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Sambad Bahika, 24th January; 14 Feb., 1889.



Sorishakotha, Amara, Vimda, Sindhis attended the function. In Dehurda, Kailash Chandra Raymahasay a zamindar had close relation with Rajnarayan Bose, the Brahmo preacher in Calcutta. Raymahasay used to read and circulate in Balasore 'Tatwabodhini Patrika' of Debendra Nath Tagore.

In May 1874, a paper named 'Dharm Bodhini' on the ideal of Brahmoactivity in Balasore and on Brahmo faith was published in Balasore town. In 1875, a Brahmo preacher, Ram Kumar by name came to Balasore and established two schools in the town. One school spread this idealism and another imparted general education.

In 1880<sup>92</sup> Aghornath Gupta came to Balasore and visited the Samaj places to speak on the cult. In the wake of such a religious wave the role of Nandalal Banerjee is most appreciating. He devoted his life to the propagating of the principle of the 'New Dispensation' namely; pure and universal Brahmo faith. In November, 1884 'Nababidhan' a paper was published basing on the Brahmo ideal. From the Sanad given by Raja of Mayurbhanj we come to know that Raja had given a piece of land in the heart of Balasore town on 3rd September 1897 to the Utkal Nababidhan Brahmo Samaj, Balasore. Then Nandalal Banerjee was President. Nandalal Banerjee raised a sum of money "to erect building on the said land and where divine service are being regularly held ever since". For this a trust had been

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<sup>92</sup>Sambad Bahika, 24.6.1880.

formed in 7.6.1917.<sup>93</sup> The members of the trustee were Bhagvan Chandra Das, Prasanna Kumar Mitra, Fekir Mohan Senapati, Padmalochan Das, Brajagopal Neogi, Pramoth Lal Sen, Nagendra Nath Banerjee.

This period is memorable and remarkable for the advent of Brahmo faith which awakened many from darkness. The spirit of time was novel. It led a race towards a cultural tomorrow.

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<sup>93</sup> Interview with the Secretary Brahmo Samaj, Sri Santos Kumar Das on 4.6.86.

### RISE AND GROWTH OF ORIYA NATIONALISM

#### The Official Attitude towards Oriya and Oriya Language:

In 1835, the Government decided to abolish Persian language in the courts and introduce Oriya in its place. This was also approved by the court of Directors by the despatch of June 26, 1835. But this decision could not be immediately carried into effect. <sup>94</sup> On 27 January 1837, the Commissioner of Cuttack was intimated that the proceedings of the courts should be recorded in provincial language but its translation into Persian language should also be despatched to the Sadar Court<sup>94</sup> subsequently. Even then the use of Persian and Hindustani languages continued in Courts.<sup>95</sup>

The new British Officers could not follow Oriya language immediately after their arrival in Orissa nor Junior Indian Officers were conversant in Oriya language. In 1839 the Commissioner communicated the view of the Collector of Balasore on the use of Oriya language in the following manner: "the Magistrate of Balasore was reluctant to favour the introduction of vernacular language as a substitute to Persian also reported

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<sup>94</sup> B.R.R. Circular of Sadar Diwani and Nizamat Adalat 1836-42, Vol.78, pp.38-43 ; Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Sonapati, pp.11,42.

<sup>95</sup> B.R.R. letters issued from January to June 1838, Vol.65., p.171; Commissioner to Registrar Nizamat Adalat, June 16, 1838. No.1628.

that Oriya language could not be of help in official work, he suggested limited use of Oriya language and that of Persian language in all matters. The Commissioner maintained that instead of Persian, Hindustani should be used in correspondence that did not concern the common people".<sup>96</sup> This he wanted to suggest in order to remove the bottleneck in official work as well as safeguarding the interests of the common mass.

Even though Oriya was subsequently used as court language and in offices too, the higher authorities expressed their doubt about its efficacy. Around 1841 attempts were made by Sudar Board of Revenue to replace Oriya by Bengali language in court dealings.

Mills, the Commissioner consulted the Magistrates of three districts of Orissa and the Judicial authority and dropped the proposal as unrealistic. He apprehended a widespread discontent in the province if Bengalee would be introduced in Orissa. To him introduction of Bengalee appeared wrong and undesirable.<sup>97</sup>

The history of Balasore and Orissa proper tells us that the province became a Seat of Struggle and domination by different races like Afghans, Muhammedans, Marathas and English from time to time. During this period some of these races did not leave the

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<sup>96</sup> B.R.R. Letters issued from January and February, 1839, Vol.67, pp.242-45 ; Mills to Sudar Board of Revenue., February 6, 1839, No.313.

<sup>97</sup> B.R.R. Letters issued in 1841, Vol.76, p.10 ; Mills to Sudar Board of Revenue, February 3, 1841., No.286.

land and became residents at Balasore and other places of the province. Gujaratees also came to Balasore as businessmen. Thus some Marathas and Gujaratees have temporarily resided in the district of Balasore with their families.<sup>98</sup> The Muslims, Marathas, Englishmen, Gujaratees who stayed at Balasore accepted Oriya as their second language. So their offshoots automatically remained in Orissa who learnt Oriya as a second language next to their mother tongue. Moreover, the British officials who came from other parts of the presidency on transfer knew only Hindustani. They formed an opinion that Oriya language was not spoken by many in Balasore. The Oriyas being educationally backward could not dispel this impression.

A remark of the Collector of Cuttack quoted below reveals the official hatred towards the Oriya language:

The Ooriah of this district, whatever it may originally have been is now but a dialect of Bengalee from which it differs chiefly in pronounciation and in its written character I do not know how far such a suggestion may be considered to be within my province but I would submit that as a measure of general policy it is desirable that the Ooriyah should cease to exist as a separate language within the British territories. It is now spoken by a few hundred thousand persons whose written a language is unintelligible to their fellow subjects in

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<sup>98</sup> From Magistrate Balasore, 16 November, 1891, Bundle of Records (Record Room, Balasore).

Bengal although as soon as the ear becomes accustomed to the pronunciation the spoken language is easily understood. This small province can never hope to have a separate literature; but if the Bengalee character could be substitute for its own, an inhabitant of Orissa would understand a Bengalee probably as well as he would an Oorish work. Every Bengalee Utterahs its equivalent in Ooriyah and the experiment might be made without difficulty."<sup>99</sup>

Of course all British officials did not look down upon Oriya language. The Commissioner Mr. Gouldsbury rejected the view of the Collector <sup>of</sup> Cuttack, Bowring as erroneous. Gouldsbury observed that Oriya was never a dialect of Bengalee and that it was a tolerably pure dialect of the Sanskrit.<sup>100</sup> He pointed out that though resembling the Bengali language, Oriya was by no means derived from it. He emphatically remarked in his report that 3 million people used to speak Oriya that comprised an area from Suvarnarekha to Ganjam (Mughalbandi, the coastal belt). The Commissioner said that such remarks by the Collector would simply give chances to the people of <sup>B</sup>engal province to occupy official posts in Orissa. The Commissioner held that Bengalee would never be a right substitute for Oriya language. He made it clear that the people of Orissa would be benefitted<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Report of the Council, 1848, pp.335,336,337.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p.336.

<sup>101</sup> B.R.R. Letters issued in 1850-51, Vol.105, pp.53-58, Gouldsbury to Sadar Board of Revenue, October 8, 1850, No.2241.

if Oriya language continued to be the language of the court and offices. He agreed to the remarks of the Commissioner.

Henry Rickett was another English official who was sympathetic towards Oriyas and Oriya language. Ricketts pointed out in his letter of December 7, 1837 that Orissa should receive more Government help. He had admitted that since 1803 when Oriyas were in neglected state, no attempt had been made to ameliorate their condition even after the lapse of 30 many years of their rule. The Bengalees who had already established themselves in Orissa since the British occupation of Balasore and Orissa at large or before that, apprehended danger to their language and mode of living in Orissa. Hence they tried to twist the administration from headquarters in Bengal to guide the wings in Orissa as a result Bengalee would be the medium of instruction in schools for all. They could not foresee the bright future of a language of a province and took it wrongly as a danger to their economic and social status in Orissa. It was awefully foolish to separate mother tongue from mother Orissa i.e. son from the soil.

Ricketts was not distinct in his tone over the use of Oriya language in Balasore and Orissa in official circle. He observed thus in 1852 in his Report on the District of Pooree and Balasore "There have been for some years Oriya schools at Balasore and Bhuddruck, an English school is now authorised at Balasore. The Collector recommends that the Oriya school should be closed as a sufficient knowledge of Oriya is acquired at the

village schools and that a Bengalee school subordinate to the English school should be substituted." In his report to the Government, Rickett did not indicate any support for the prevalence of Oriya language. He wrote: "It seems now to be generally admitted that a mistake has been made in endeavouring to improve Ooriya (Oriya) instead of introducing Hindoostanee or Bengalee but as I have said in reporting on Pooree, the time appears to have passed for effecting a change. If Hindoostanee, were made the language of the courts so few now write the Persian Character that for some months there would be many difficulties".<sup>102</sup>

In 1859, Rev. Long advocated the introduction of Bengalee as the medium of instruction in Orissa. "Valuable as is the Oriya language for imparting to the common people an elementary education, it will be much easier for the Oriyas who wish to acquire knowledge to gain through Bengalee a kindred language. Both in Assam and Orissa, Government teaches Bengali to the highest classes in the schools".<sup>103</sup>

In the post-famine period, Sir Strafford North Cote, the Secretary of State for India professed great sympathy for the Oriyas. He held that Orissa should be separated from Bengal, because "the outlying portions of Bengal were not receiving proper attention".<sup>104</sup> North Cote realised that the severity of

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<sup>102</sup> Buckland, p.290; History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol.III, p.11.

<sup>103</sup> Rev. A.J. Long, Notes on querries suggested by a visitor to Orissa, J.A. S.B. 1859.

<sup>104</sup> Home Department Proceedings, May 1920, Nos.203-203A, pp.5,6,7,8 (W.A).



Orissa famine was due to the fact that Orissa was controlled by Board of Revenue in far away place in Calcutta and that the Oriya race and language were always under-estimated by the Bengalees. Orissa had not progressed to the extent as it ought to have made since 1803, the year of British occupation of Balasore and Orissa and for its progress it required to be separated. It was a warning and timely direction to their subordinate administrative authority in India to save their good administration from creeping impropriety in Bengal administrative Bureau when the situation in Orissa had turned grave.

The Efforts of Bengalees to Abolish Oriya Language: And  
Fakir Mohan's Fight for the Oriya Language:

A movement to abolish Oriya language from schools and offices was set afoot by some Bengalees in the late sixties of the nineteenth century. Umacharan Haldar wrote in 'Cuttack Star', suggesting the publication of Oriya text books in Bengalee script. He held that there was nothing wrong in writing Oriya in Bengalee script as Bengalee handwriting looked more beautiful than the Oriya counterpart.<sup>105</sup> He observed in a rather silly manner that if the Oryas could use paper, pen and ink, coming from Bengal, they should not hesitate to use the Bengalee script.

One Siv Das Bhattacharjya, the Deputy Inspector of School Balasore made effort to introduce Bengalee as the medium of instruction in vernacular schools in place of Oriya. This

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<sup>105</sup> Utkal Dipika, 10.7.1869, 24.7.1869, 1869.

irritated the natives of Balasore. The local Zamindars, and Government servants demanded his transfer. Shyanananda De, the Zamindar of Barabati, Balasore raised protests against the efforts of Bhattacharya to introduce Bengalee language in Orissa. All appealed to John Beames, the Collector (1869-73) of Balasore and President of local committee of Public Instruction. With his remarks it was sent to the Inspector of Schools and ultimately that was forwarded to the D.P.I. Oriyas and Oriya language were passing the critical period. Mr. Bhattacharya<sup>106</sup> was transferred and Radhanath Ray (Soro)<sup>107</sup> joined in his place.

The efforts for introducing Bengalee language in Balasore and Orissa went on and struggle against it continued simultaneously. In 1869 the famous antiquarian scholar of Bengal Rajendra Lal Mitra paid a visit to Orissa and delivered a lecture, in Cuttack debating club in December, 1868 on the survival of Oriya language in Orissa. He urged that well-wishers of Orissa should support introduction of Bengalee language in Orissa as the right substitute of Oriya in Orissa. He argued that the population of Orissa which had already been reduced by the famine of 1866 was not sufficient enough to have a separate Oriya language. He held that Oriya readers were not large in number and hence no publisher would risk publishing new books in Oriya and that if Bengalee would run as the

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<sup>106</sup> Utkal Dipika., 26.3.1870.

<sup>107</sup> Sambad Bahika., 1.11.1872.

language of Oriyas, then sufficient number of books would be available to people in Orissa. He pointed out that while 300 books were published in Bengal in 3 months, only 3 to 4 books were published in Oriya in Orissa.<sup>108</sup>

He further added that education in Oriya medium could not satisfactorily progress because of non-availability of suitable text books as well as teachers.

At this stage some domiciled Bengalees started a signature campaign for the introduction of Bengalee as the medium of instruction in the schools of Orissa. They collected about one thousand suggestions. Consequently, the Oriyas of Cuttack, the nerve centre of Orissa and Balasore, the sensible border district felt panicky. Fortunately Utkal Dipika the leading periodical of Cuttack took up the cause of Oriyas. The periodical was edited by Gourishankar Ray, a domiciled Bengalee.

In the seventies of the nineteenth century Kanti Bhattacharjya, a Bengalee teacher of Balasore Zilla School started a drive for the introduction of Bengalee in the schools of Orissa. Fakir Mohan writes that after the retirement of Sadasiv Nanda, the Sanskrit teacher in Balasore Zilla School, one Kanti Bhattacharjya joined the same post. Bhattacharjya could not speak Oriya well. The Oriya boys used to laugh at his faulty Oriya pronounciations. He could not utter NNA and LLA of Oriya language which caused laughter in the class.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>108</sup>Utkal Dipika, 13.3.69 to 20.3.69, pp.41-42.

<sup>109</sup>Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.53.

In 1870, Bhattacharjya published a Bengalee book titled 'Oriya Ekta Swatantra Bhasa Naye' (meaning Oriya is not a distinct language).<sup>110</sup> He was preaching this theory among the students of the Balasore Zilla School.

The Headmaster of Balasore Zilla School sent a copy of this book to R.L. Martin, the Inspector of Schools whose office was situated at Medinipur. The book also received favourable support from the Deputy Inspector of Schools.<sup>111</sup>

Under these circumstances, an order from the higher authorities came to the Headmaster of Balasore Zilla School that only Sanskrit and Bengalee would be taught in that school. Soon the news spread that Oriya would be abolished from the Government aided schools.<sup>112</sup> At this stage Fakir Mohan began his fight for the cause of Oriya language. Accompanied by his small committee members, he began to move from door to door, quarter to quarter in the town and spoke all about it in Balasore Collectorate, wrote about it in Sambad Bahika the only Oriya paper in Balasore in order to create the public support in favour of this language issue.<sup>113</sup>

People in all quarters accepted the Government order. They did not dare to raise their voice against such order out of fear. They rather said that the Government's order had to be carried out. Whatever would be taught in school would be

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<sup>110</sup> Utkal Dinika, 23.12.71; Mrutunjart Granthabali, p.374.

<sup>111</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.53.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p.54.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

followed by their children. Even Oriya Zamindars dared not speak anything over this issue. They categorically told that "why shall we poke our nose into it for which we shall invite fine".<sup>114</sup> No body wanted to incur displeasure of the Government. Their answer was unsympathetic and negative because it was a Government affair and the Government had the right to introduce and prescribe anything they liked. People were afraid of punishment and fines. It was quite natural at a time when the Board of Revenue was in Calcutta which controlled Orissa and most of the officials in Balasore were Bengalees.

Fakir Mohan was undaunted in his spirit. He organised a meeting in Balasore Collectorate to demonstrate publicity that the attempt to abolish Oriya language from schools as well as court was ill conceived by the authority because the letter was based on hypocrisy. He told Amlas that the order that reached the Headmaster of Balasore Zilla School was not a Government order which had the intention of abolishing Oriya in schools. He told them 'Bengalees have misguided the Inspector of Schools. Gradually Oriya language will be abolished from Balasore Collectorate ~~also~~. Officers and Clerks are Bengalees. You are all adept in Persian. When they abolish Persian, where is your place and what is the value of your education when Oriya language will be abolished? Sons, brothers, relatives

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<sup>114</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.54.

of the Bengalees will be Amlas. You are sure to loss service and thereafter your successors will be deprived of service".<sup>115</sup> This touched the Amlas to the core and made them alert. They said: "no it can not be so. Our children will read Oriya".<sup>116</sup> As if helpless, they all prayed Fakir Mohan to find out ways and means. He prepared an application dealing such matter and got it signed by 500 persons. Then John Beams (1869-73) who was a highly learned man was the Collector of Balasore. Fakir Mohan submitted the application to the Collector.<sup>117</sup> Even English Officers and missionaries supported Fakir Mohan's move.<sup>118</sup>

Beams forwarded the letter with a strong favourable recommendation to the Commissioner. Then T.E. Ravenshaw was the Commissioner of Orissa.<sup>119</sup> Ravenshaw sent the same to Lt. Governor with a favourable recommendation.

In favour of the appeal, Beams pointed out that Oriya was an ancient language. Oriya education should spread in the whole of Orissa. He wrote a book in English where he dealt the issue and sent it to Government.<sup>120</sup> He criticised the booklet of Kanti Bhattacharjya as "profoundly destitute of

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<sup>115</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.55.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family, pp. 183-184.

<sup>120</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.55.

Philological arguments".<sup>121</sup> He wrote that if Oriya had no right to exist as a separate language because it was spoken by a few then this argument of Bhattacharjya might be applicable to others and there would be no necessity of Dutch, Danish and Portuguese. His argument was when portuguese people were minimum population in the globe, would that language not exist?<sup>122</sup>

An order came from the authority in Bengal in 1872 that Bengalee language would be abolished in all schools of Orissa. Schools<sup>123</sup> should be established in different places for the spread of Oriya language.

The matter did not end here. It was beginning of the end. Once a meeting was held at 7.OOP.M. in the first floor (Devi temple) of Raja Shyamananda Dey's building in Barabati which was attended by Deputy Munsif, Engineer, School teachers and 30 Bengalees and 7 to 8 Oriya people. An altercation took place between Fakir Mohan and Kanti Bhattacharjya. Fakir Mohan tried to convince all these present about the usefulness of the general education. The meeting discussed the Government order (stated earlier) to spread vernacular education in village levels of Orissa.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> JASS, June 1870.

<sup>122</sup> Mrutunjaya Granthabali, p.366.

<sup>123</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.55.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.56.

Oriya-Bengalee feud in Balasore assumed a very serious form. Fakir Mohan was always trying to develop the Oriya language in different ways. He writes in his autobiography that Oriyas had no chance to be absorbed in P.M.D. and Postal Department. Lack of educational qualification debarred the Oriyas from holding such posts. Because of his efforts to promote the interest of Oriyas he was vilified by the protagonists of Bengali language.

In Barabati near the bank of Burabalang river and close to Europeans burial ground lived one Sri Brundaban Chandra Mandal<sup>125</sup> who was hailed at that time by most Bengalees as the patron of Bengalee language. He hailed from Cunchura of Medinipur. He started one Bengalee Medium School in a remote village in Balasore. Fakir Mohan writes that Bengalees of Balasore gathered in his drawing room (Baithak Khana) where they discussed from evening till 9.00 P.M. how to remove Oriya language from the Government offices and substitute it by Bengalee language.

These Bengalee gentlemen didnot even utter Fakir Mohan's name out of hatred and simply referred to as 'damned ring leader'<sup>126</sup> because Fakir Mohan used to speak in the meetings for the cause of Oriya language, write articles in Sambad Bahika for it and argued with Bengalees in favour of Oriyas and their language.

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<sup>125</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.58.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.



Sambad Bahika, the Oriya paper published from Balasore by Fakir Mohan Senapati edited by Gobinda Charan Pattnaik brought out satirical comments on Mandal's effort to establish Bengalee schools. Mandal took it as an offence and a challenge.

Barabati School Committee consisted of 7 members, out of whom 6 were Bengalees and Fakir Mohan was the only Oriya.<sup>127</sup> The School Committee depended on donation by both Oriyas and Bengalees. Afterwards Mandal did not like to cooperate in school work because Fakir Mohan was a member of the School Committee.<sup>128</sup> As a result the School faced difficulties. Mandal declared that he would give liberal financial help to the school, if Fakir Mohan was removed from the School Committee.<sup>129</sup> To utter surprise it came out in the Government Gazette in the next week that "Gabu Fakir Mohan Senapati had been appointed as a member of Balasore Zilla School Committee".<sup>130</sup> His appointments were astonished how when his name that was removed from one school committee, could find place in another school committee. As a result of removal of his name from Barabati School Committee all the Oriyas no more contributed to the former school fund.

In this period there was no Municipality in Balasore. Both Brundaban Chandra Mandal and Fakir Mohan Senapati were Commissioners operating Chowkidary tax<sup>131</sup> in Balasore town. Naturally

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<sup>127</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.58.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., pp.58-59.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p.59.

they had some such bitter relation. This was also one of the reasons for his contempt towards Fakir Mohan.<sup>132</sup>

In this period of confrontation, Srinath Dutta (1869) was the Headmaster of Balasore Zilla School. He used to tell Fakir Mohan humorously that by no means he could be outwitted (Mahasay, Kichhutei Apnake Ant-te Paragelena). Later on the school was closed when Mandal Babu no more extended his help to the school. The Bengali-Oriya language controversy in which the Oriyas won roused nationalist feelings among the Oriyas of Balasore as well as the rest of Orissa.

Fakir Mohan's Literary Activities for the Cause of Oriya Language:

Fakir Mohan writes that there was a book shop in Balasore run by Damodar Babu of Sunhat, Balasore where Bengalee Books were available. Then 'Samprakash'<sup>133</sup> and 'Education Gazette' were the only papers read at Balasore. One famous Zamindar of Balasore was subscriber of Samprakash whereas Education Gazette was subscribed by Balasore Zilla School. They were weeklies. Fakir Mohan's brother Nityananda Babu was a subscriber of one Bengalee paper "Bibidhartha Sangraha". Non-availability of Oriya books in Balasore inspired him to write some papers and books.

Fakir Mohan Senapati the Chief exponent of Oriya literature marked that the translation work from English to Oriya was very poor in these days. He obtained the permission from the learned

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<sup>132</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.41.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p.43.

scholar in Bengal and social reformer Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar to translate his autobiography. He wrote: "History of Prince" which he failed to publish. He also wrote grammar and arithmetic books. His other work was Indian History in Oriya in two parts for which he received a help of Rs.700/- from Inspector of Schools and Rs.300/- from the Commissioner of Orissa, Mr. Ravenshaw.

#### Knowledge in Bengalee:

E.C.B. Halum the then Secretary of Mission School, Balasore had written one Oriya-cum-English grammar book. Fakir Mohan extended his help in this work. Fakir Mohan used to teach Bengalee to Collector R.H. Passi and Joint Magistrate Mayers.

#### Company and Inspiration:

A man is known by the company he keeps. Fakir Mohan not only kept contact with Balkuntha Nath Dey and John Beams but also used to keep relation with Madhusudan Das (Bar-at-law) third teacher in the Government School, Balasore then and Radhanath Ray who used to stay near 'Gadagadia'<sup>134</sup> tank inside the Balasore town. This was an area of residence of Amals, Clerks, Deputy Magistrates and Munsifs. Fakir Mohan's greatest and rare quality was that he never missed the opportunity to establish contact with intellectuals of his time.

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<sup>134</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.52 ; A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family.

Fakir Mohan accompanied by Deputy Inspector of Schools Shibdas Bhattacharjya and his friends Nanda Kumar Bhattacharjya went to Remuna the place famous for Khirachora Gopinath, the God, to start a school there. To this school the Zamindar Baikuntha Nath Day contributed Rs.300/-.<sup>135</sup>

#### Baikuntha Nath Day's Activities:

Raja Baikuntha Nath Day was much ahead of time. He could pick up the right thing at the need of the hour. His liberalities was hereditary that he inherited from his father Shyamananda Day who made not only great contribution for tarnished people in 1866 famine but also the language movement he participated for the existence and upliftment of Oriya language.

In connection with spread of Oriya language, Baikuntha Nath Day, the Raja of Barabati threw all his might publishing books. When publication of Oriya books was so difficult to the people of Balasore. Day's press made a stride in this respect. Thus the compilation and publication of many useful Oriya school books and an Atlas named Ripon Atlas in Oriya in 1884<sup>136</sup> at a cheap price placed useful literature within easy reach of the people.

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<sup>135</sup> Autobiography of Fakir Mohan Senapati, p.52 ; A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family.

<sup>136</sup> A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family, p.13.

Baikuntha Nath De, son of Shyamananda De was born in 1352 in Balasore. In 1873 he became the Honorary Magistrate. In 1875, he started a library temporarily in the house of Madanmohan Das of Barabati. He remained Vice-Chairman of Balasore Municipality from 1877 to 1891. In 1882 he became member of Bengal Legislative Council. He became Vice-Chairman of District Board in 1885. He patronized the Balasore Hindu Girls' School in 1872. He also patronized Anantapur M.V. School (1891), Zubike School (M.E) 1887, Remuna M.V. School. He started Town Hall Library, B. De Social Club Library, Kistodas Pal Library, Bayley Hall, B. De Social Club-Library, E. De, a combination of economic affluence and cultural affinity was an institution himself who left this earthly life in the year 1913.

This contribution of Baikuntha Nath Dey is admirable and conspicuous. Posterity would count his liberal and mighty support culturally and financially to channelise his intellect to give a leap to Oriya literature which was the need of the time. He had never shown his reluctance for the spread of the language. He was a versatile genius.

He translated works of Radhanath Ray (Meghdoot) and Madhusudan Rao too. Fakir Mohan writes that he was a Vetary of truth. He wanted also a company of scholars to devote more time for discussion on Oriya literature. To this was the support of an administrator, John Beams who was culturally tough.

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw a unique combination of Fakir Mohan, Beams and Baikuntha Nath Dey - One an administrative genius foreign to the land but akin to its culture; another Zamindar, a patron pregnant with liberal outlook though a Bengalee was patronising Oriya language much devoid of linguistic fanaticism (feeling) unlike others and third Fakir Mohan a frail son of the soil but blessed, whose disease and adverse remark like (Beta ring leader' could not overtake his 'godspeed'. He was the commander of the language combat. He was the repository <sup>of people's hopes</sup>. The three became the guide and guardians of the Oriya language.

#### Examination of Oriya Answer Scripts:

The procedure of examination should be changed. Oriya examinations should not be conducted by Bengalees. Oriya answer papers should not be examined by Bengalees. This was proposed in

many papers like Orissa Patriot and Utkal Dipika (the light of Orissa). They also commented that Calcutta Book Society was not competent to write Oriya books. When new Oriya books were sent to it, the Calcutta society was returning those books to Oriya knowing persons in Orissa for proper study and correction.<sup>137</sup> A Committee was formed to go through the merits and demerits of Oriya books. Those members included W.C. Lacey, as President and others were Jagmohan Ray, Bichitrananda Das, Dwarika Nath Chakravarty, Kalipada Bandopadhyay,<sup>138</sup> Nabin Chandra Sarangi, Banamali Sahu, Gouri Sankar Ray.

#### Government Officers' Knowledge of Oriya Language:

The new Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in a circular had directed that the Officers of the concerned districts should appear in examination in their district languages. The Commissioners had been directed to inform the Lieutenant Governor whether Deputy Collectors were able to write well in their own mother tongue. The assistants in the education departments were also directed to appear in their vernacular languages.

#### Appointment of Oriyas as Inspector of Schools:

Balasore Sambad Bahika had requested the Commissioner to appoint a Deputy Inspector who should be either an Oriya or an Englishman. It happened because Officers from outside were not favourably inclined to the provincial culture, taste and habits.

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<sup>137</sup> Utkal Dipika, 20.3.69, pp.45-46.

<sup>138</sup> Utkal Dipika, 10.7.69, pp. 110, 160.

Subsequently we see the appointment of Radhanath Ray as Joint Inspector of Schools by John Beams in 1877, the officiating Commissioner.<sup>139</sup> Later on Fakir Mohan, Madhusudan Rao, Nandakishore Bal became educational authorities in Balasore. Even the higher administrative authorities took classes in schools and tried to publish book in Oriya so as to spread the vernacular education in Balasore and the province too.

Martin, the Inspector of Schools wrote thus: "There being no works in Oriya on the art of teaching and Natural Philosophy I have engaged my-self in compiling there from different English and Bengalee books and translating them again into Oriya. I dictate them in Oriya to the pupils who take them down in their copybooks and are required to study them like all other books now in use. I am however trying to get these manuscripts ready for the press as soon as possible".<sup>140</sup> In a circular issued by Martin option was given to outside residents to study Oriya. He also declared prizes for writing books.

It was published in Sambad Bahika of 29.9.77 that through the initiative of John Beams 'Oriya Palm leaf literature improvement Company was proposed to be formed". The capital was Rs.5,000/- and each share was Rs.25/-. Attempts were made to publish new books.

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<sup>139</sup> Beams, Memories of a Bengal Civilian, Chann, Balasore, Cuttack.

<sup>140</sup> General Report of Directorate of Public Instruction, 1870, p.119.

Recognition of Oriya Language by Government:

At last the great day dawned. Ravenshaw the Commissioner suggested strongly to the Lieutenant Governor about the retention of Oriya language as the only medium of instruction in schools of Orissa. The overall discretionary power was delegated to him by the Lieutenant Governor to see that Bengalee language was not taught in the school of Orissa. He wrote categorically to the Collector of three districts for the exclusion of Bengalee language.

From a letter of A.W. Crafts, the D.P.I. of Bengal to the Inspector of Schools, Western Circle (Fort William Dengal) on the 10th April, 1879 we know: "In reference to your 8/142 dated the 1st April 1879 inquiring whether the exclusion of Bengalee from the schools of Orissa ordered in Govt. letter No.937 dated the 25th February 1873 is to be enforced on the schools under the aid system, I have the honour to state that the letter of Mr. Ravenshaw which was forwarded with the Government letter quoted above and of which a copy is enclosed for reference referred to all schools in Orissa whether Government or aided and was based on the belief that the persistent exclusion of Bengalee from schools was essential to the progress of education in Orissa. If any further reference is necessary you should bring up some one school as a special case stating the number of Bengalee and Oriyas that now attend it and the circumstances of the surrounding school going Population". Very strangely even in 1879 after the question of



retention of Oriya language in schools had already been decided by higher authority of education, Inspector of Schools of Western Circle Bhoodals Mukherjee wrote from Chinsurah on 24th April 1879 to Raja Baikuntha Nath Dey of Balasore to allow teaching of Bengalee in a Private School.

#### Clubs and Societies:

In the late sixties of 19th century the small middle class of Balasore became active to protect their mother tongue i.e. Oriya language through the formation of club, societies and associations. During this period a number of associations were formed. Balasore Utkal Bhasa Unnati Bidhazani Sabha was formed by Daitari Prasad Das in 1867, Bhadrok Desha Hitaishini Sabha was formed in 1874. Baleswar Sabha was formed in 1875. Balasore National Society was formed on 30.6.78. Fakir Mohan Senapati, Raja Baikuntha Nath De, Daitari Prasad Das, Harish Chandra Sarkar had close association with it. Balasore Town hall, the oldest of its type in Orissa was constructed because of their efforts, which became the venue of many such associations at different time.

Unity Association was also formed. Baikuntha Nath Dey's Social Club was formed in 1895.<sup>141</sup> Balasore Zilla School Reading Club was formed on 8.8.1896.

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<sup>141</sup>State Legislator and Freedom Struggle, p.7.

Persons like Fakir Mohan Senapati, Radhanath Ray, Chandra Mohan Maharana individually and collectively endeavoured to write some text books in Oriya language. Chandra Mohan Maharana of Remuna, Balasore and Madhusudan Rao formed <sup>142</sup> Alochana Sabha to promote the cause of Oriya language. Balasore National Branch Brahmo Samaj was also formed at this time. <sup>143</sup> Balasore Haribhakti Pradevini Sabha was also formed which is still found in Barabati close to Madan Mohan Das campus with a marble plate on the gate written in Bengali. The marble plate at the gate clearly shows its name in Bengali language. Balasore Sanskrit Samiti was formed on 4.3.93. Balasore B. De Social Club was formed on 1.6.95. Balasore Mohammiadan Association was formed on 11.1.96.

#### Utkal Union Conference:

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the development of Pan-Oriya nationalism in the Oriya speaking tracts of Bengal, Madras and Central provinces because of the alleged discrimination and injustice by the non-Oriyas against the Oriyas. In Balasore Pan-Oriya sentiments arose because of efforts of some Bengalees such as Shrivdas Bhattacharjya and Kanti Chandra Bhattacharjya to abolish Oriya language from the schools of Orissa. Consequently for sometime acute bitterness between Bengalees and Oriyas prevailed in Balasore. But after

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<sup>142</sup> Natabar Samantaray Oriya Sahityar Itihas.

<sup>143</sup> Sambad Bahika. 30.4.85.

the Government's decision in favour of Oriya language the opposition of Bengalees towards Oriyas melted away. The formation of Balasore National Society for taking part in the deliberations of the Indian National Congress united the Bengalees and Oriyas in a common platform and harmonised the relations between the two communities in Balasore town.

The active patronage of the Oriya language and Oriya nationalism by Raja Baikuntha Nath Dey, the domiciled Bengalee Zamindars of Balasore also became an import<sup>ant</sup> factor in harmonising the relation between Bengalees and Oriyas in the town. With the formation of Utkal Sammilani under the leadership of the Cuttackbased lawyer Madhusudan Das Cuttack became the nerve-centre of Oriya movement, as Cuttack was the headquarter of Orissa division, having the only college (Ravenshaw College) of the division and the most important newspaper in Oriya language, i.e. Utkal Dipika. Under the circumstances, Baleswar followed the lead of the Cuttack intelligentsia in respect of the Oriya movement.

#### Utkal Samillani:

The language movement took another turn i.e. unifying the Oriya tracts. Even in 1876, Shyamananda De, Bichitrananda Das sent a memorandum to the Lt. Governor of Bengal for union under a single administration of all the scattered Oriya tracts. This was the first non-official proposal for such a great move.

On 20th June 1895, a memorial was submitted to Lord Elgin, the Viceroy of India by Utkal Sabha that the denial of speaking public meetings in this regard were held at Balasore, Sambalpur, Puri and Parlakhemundi.

For the unification of Oriya speaking tracts, agitation began when 'Oriya' was excluded from the court language of Sambalpur. It spread a wide contempt throughout Orissa. On 10 May 1895, a meeting held under the Presidentship of Madhusudan Das passed a resolution to unite all Oriya-speaking tracts.

Madhusudan Das started Oriya Graduates and under graduates Association which however fought for the cause of survival of Oriya language. The move for the survival had taken another turn. Now not only the intellectuals but these Associations of Orissa ~~to~~ <sup>ed</sup> ~~order~~ to safeguard the interest of the Oriya-speaking people in the border districts of Orissa. In April 1903, Fakir Mohan Senapati attended the first meeting of Ganjam National Conference held at Berhampur.<sup>144</sup> This conference prepared the ground for the first session of Utkal Union Conference which was held at Cuttack in December 1903.

In 1903 many notable persons like Madhusudan Das, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Gopal Chandra Praharaj, Nandakishore Bal, Krushna Chandra Chowdhury, Gopabandhu Dash, Pt. Basudeb

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<sup>144</sup> S.N. Das, Dasaprana Madhusudan, pp.170-1.

Kavyatirtha, Raghunath Rao, Rama Chandra Das met at Puri for unification of Oriya tracts under one administration.

In December 1903, the Utkal Union Conference was organised in Cuttack. Raghunath Ray of Sero, Balasore composed the inaugural song of Utkal Sammilani. Baikuntha Nath Ray seconded a proposal for union of Oriya-speaking tracts which he sent earlier in 1902. Thereafter some branches of Utkal Union Conference were started in the Balasore district as in other Oriya-speaking tracts.<sup>145</sup>

In 1910, the District Committees of Utkal Union Conference were organised at Balasore, Cuttack, Puri respectively after the 7th Session of Utkal Union Conference held at Cuttack in December 1910.<sup>146</sup>

On 23 December 1911, the province of Bihar and Orissa came into existence. After such constitution of the province Lord Curzon said in the House of Lords: "That is the good of Orissa being tied to the tail of Bihar where there is no affinity of language and race".<sup>147</sup>

In 1912, the National Conference of Balasore in its January Session passed some resolutions. Thus "the amalgamation of all Oriya-speaking tracts and placing them under one administration".<sup>148</sup>

<sup>145</sup> S.N.Das, Dogamraja Mahasudan, p.54.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., p.56.

<sup>147</sup> Utkal Sammilani Proceeding Papers (O.S.A.).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

On 20th April 1915, Ananta Mishra, the roving missionary of Utkal Union Conference organised a meeting at Balasore. The meeting was presided over by Fakir Mohan Senapati. From Balasore Ananta Mishra went to Sambalpur and from there he returned to Bhadrak. On 15th May 1915, he organised a meeting at Dhannagar which was presided over by Moulana Abdul Mohammed. Hindu-Muslim unity was stressed in the meeting. On 17th May 1915, he held another meeting at Agarpara. There Harekrushna Mahtab, the minor Zamindar of Agarpara showed keen interest in the activities of Utkal Union Conference. Thence Ananta Mishra proceeded to Ganjam.<sup>149</sup> ✓

In 1916 in the 12th Session of the Utkal Union Conference convened at Balasore-Bhadrak in Permit Kothi on December 29 under the chairmanship of Raja of Manjusha and a sub-committee was formed.<sup>150</sup> It included Madhusudan Das, Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo of Kenika, Braja Sundar Das, Sudam Charen Nayak. The 12th Session demanded a separate administrative unit for all Oriya-speaking tracts, <sup>le</sup>teaching of Oriya in the Patna university - introduction of Oriya language in the courts of Singhbhum and Ganjam, setting up of an engineering school, opening of M.A. and B.L. classes in Ravenshaw College, establishment of a Sanskrit College at Puri, beginning of a project for a post in Orissa and the revival of Salt Industries.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Utkal Sammillani Proceedings Papers.

<sup>150</sup> Two Bachelors of Arts - The Oriya Movement, 1919, p.335.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p.335-336.

In 1917, Fakir Mohan Senapati, the father of modern Oriya literature who had fought all along for the cause of identity of Oriya language, presided over the thirteenth session of Utkal Union Conference held at Cuttack in March 1918. Most of the earlier demands were reiterated at the Cuttack Conference. In 1919 with Gopabandhu Dash in the chair, resolutions were passed in the 14th Session of Utkal Union Conference for unification of Oriya tracts into one province and declaration of Oriya as court language. In May 1920, the activities of Raja Baikuntha Nath De were appreciated in Utkal Union Conference.

Balasore National Society and  
Growth of National Consciousness:

Like Oriya Association or Utkal Sabha another association called Balasore National Society was formed at Balasore. Balasore Town Hall - On behalf of Balasore National Society its President B. Dey accorded hearty welcome to Sir Rivers Thompson Lt. Governor on the opening ceremony of new Town Hall and Public Library on 30 November, 1885. The meeting was presided over by the Lt. Governor. The hall and library were named after Kristo Das Pal Memorial Hall, a notable journalist. The society which represented the notable personalities of urban and rural areas was established in 1879.<sup>152</sup> Since then it had taken up issues of local and national interest for discussion. Even though its meetings were regularly held inside the campus of Balasore Zilla School with the permission of said authority, the members felt the need of permanent building of

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<sup>152</sup> A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family,  
pp. 267, 271, 273, 361.

the association for which 'Hall of Society' was erected and called Kristodas Pal Memorial Hall. Shyamananda De was the patron and Adviser of the Society. The estimate of the building and the library was Rs.10,000/- for which all attempts were made to raise public subscription. The hall and library was to be called the Kristo Das Pal Memorial Hall and Library.<sup>153</sup> The news of this happening came out in 'Englishman' by its own correspondent from Balasore.

The series of association that tended to promote the Oriya language before the end of 19th century showed the awakening of the people. Members of Balasore National Society used to attend the National Congress regularly. National Society of Balasore nominated Baikuntha Nath De, Bhagwan Chandra Das and Ramchandra Mandal as delegates to the 2nd Session of Indian National Congress at Calcutta in 1886. After their return Balasore people accorded them warm ovation.

The third Session of the National Congress held at Madras in 1887 was attended by Ramesh Chandra Mandal, the delegate of Palasore National Society.<sup>154</sup> (1) On behalf of the National Society Ramesh Chandra Mandal, Bhagwan Chandra Das and Abdus Sobhan Khan attended the fourth Session of the Congress held at Allahabad in 1888.<sup>155</sup> The 1896 Calcutta Session

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<sup>153</sup> A Brief History of the Balasore Raj Family,  
p. 267, 271, 273 & 361.

<sup>154</sup> Utkal Dipika, 17 December, 1887.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 8 December, 1888.



of the Congress was attended by Ramesh Chandra Mandal.<sup>156</sup>  
 In 1898 Fakir Mohan Senapati, the famous Oriya novelist  
 attended the Congress Session in Madras as the delegate  
 of the National Society.<sup>157</sup>

In 1901 as the delegates of National Society Bhagwan  
 Chandra Das, Upendra Chandra Ray, Lalit Mohan Sarkar and  
 Birendra Kumar Mandal attended the Congress Session in  
 Calcutta.<sup>158</sup> In 1903 Bhagbat Prasad Mahapatra and J. Ghosal  
 attended the Congress Session in Madras as the delegates of  
 National Society.

In 1905 in protest against the partition of Bengal,  
 the Bengalees launched the Swadeshi Movement to annul the  
 partition of Bengal by means of boycott of British goods  
 and promotion of indigenous industries. This movement had  
 its impact on Balasore town.<sup>159</sup>

In a crowded meeting held in the Balasore Town Hall  
 under the chairmanship of Abdus Sobhan Khan, the people  
 including Zamindars and lawyers, resolved to use indigenous  
 goods.<sup>160</sup> Another meeting was held in the Barabati School in

<sup>156</sup> Report of the Indian National Congress, 1895.

<sup>157</sup> Fakir Mohan Senapati Granthabali, Vol.I., p.181.

<sup>158</sup> - Utkal Dipika, 14 Dec, 1901,  
<sup>159</sup> Purusottam Kar, Indian National Congress, p.74.

<sup>160</sup> Utkal Dipika, 16 September, 1905.

which Fakir Mohan Senapati, Karunakar Sahu and Daitari Das urged the people to use indigenous goods.<sup>161</sup> Consequently, a tendency to use indigenous goods, particularly cloths was noticed among the people.<sup>162</sup>

By the beginning of the twentieth century, there were two streams of political consciousness in Balasore as in the rest of Orissa, i.e., the Congress Movement and the Oriya Nationalist Movement. The articulate domiciled Bengalees of Balasore town seem to have taken keener interest in the nationalist movement than their Oriya counterparts. Raja Balkuntha Nath De, the domiciled Bengalee Zamindar was, however, an exception. He took interest both in the Oriya movement as well as the nationalist movement. His interest in the Oriya movement appears to be greater than his interest in the nationalist movement. In 1902, he sent a memorandum to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy for the unification of Oriya tracts.<sup>163</sup> On 7 March 1903, he attended the meeting convened at Cuttack by Maharaja Shriram Chandra Bhanja and Madhusudan Das to discuss the problem of merger of Oriya tracts.<sup>164</sup> Fakir Mohan Senapati, though a staunch protagonist of Oriya nationalism had also taken keen interest in Congress nationalism. He attended various sessions

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<sup>161</sup> Purusottam Kar, Indian National Congress and Orissa (1885-1936), p.56.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> K.M. Patra, Orissa State Legislative and Freedom Struggle 1912-47.

<sup>164</sup> Utkal Dipika, 14 March 1903.

of the Congress. After the formation of Utkal Union Conference the Oriya intelligentsia increasingly turned their attention to it and developed a tendency to keep aloof from the Congress activities. Madhusudan Das himself though a pioneer of Congress nationalism in Orissa became disenchanted with Congress and concentrated himself heart and soul on Utkal Union Conference. Contribution to unification of Oriya tracts has been aptly quoted thus: "The resolution which has been so ably moved is of supreme importance. We have always been emphasising it since 1902. We have felt it. This movement proceeded from Raja Baikuntha Nath De Bahadur. This was followed by a memorial - a Viceroy's proposal was nipped in the bud".<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Utkal Samillani Proceedings, p.65 (O.S.A).

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CHAPTER - VI

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT  
(GANDEHIAN ERA)

Though from its inception the Indian National Congress was attended by delegates from Orissa, yet there was practically no Congress organisation in Orissa in 1920 when Mahatma Gandhi launched the Non-cooperation Movement.<sup>1</sup> There were two reasons, general as well as particular, which would account for the absence of Congress organisation in Orissa at the commencement of Gandhian era in Indian politics. First, the pre-Gandhian Congress had no organisation at the grass root level, it was more or less an annual fair, attended by self-constituted representatives. Secondly, so far as Orissa was concerned, Madhusudan Das, the towering and unchallenged political leader of Orissa in pre-Gandhian era had turned away from the Congress, being unable to raise the question of unification of Oriya tracts in the Congress platform.<sup>2</sup> But after

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<sup>1</sup> H.K. Mahtab, Dasabansar Orissa, pp. 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> Nivedita Mohanty, Oriya Nationalism Quest for a United Orissa 1866-1936, p. 92, Mahanty has narrated an interview between Madhusudan Das and Surendra Nath Bannerji which took place in the Grand Hotel of Calcutta in 1902. In that interview Madhusudan requested Bannerji to raise Orissa question in the Congress platform. The latter turned down the former's request.

the first World War, because of the impact of war situation, war time slogans, the passing of repressive Rowlatt Acts by the British Government and the Jalianawallah Bagh massacre in the Punjab, a wave of nationalism swept over the whole country. Orissa was no exception. At this stage Mahatma <sup>Gandhi</sup> emerged as the leader of the Congress, and called upon the Congressmen to start agitation against the British Government along the lines of non-violent non-cooperation. In Orissa Gopabandhu Das, the young lawyer of Puri emerged as the pioneer of the new national consciousness. Under his leadership the people of Balasore as in the rest of Orissa plunged into the Non-cooperation movement.

The Special Congress Session at Calcutta, 1920:

Early in September 1920, the special session of Congress held at Calcutta adopted Gandhi's programme of Non-violent, Non-cooperation against the British Government. From Orissa Gopabandhu Das attended this Congress as the pioneer of Gandhian nationalism. From Balasore district, this session was attended by Harekrushna Mahtab and Nandakishore Das, both of whom later on emerged as the prominent leaders of the Congress movement in Orissa. Mahtab was at that time a student of the B.A. Class in Ravenshaw College at Cuttack. He attended this Congress session as a delegate of Bharati Mandir, an academic club of some nationalist-minded students of the Ravenshaw College.<sup>3</sup> Nanda Kishore Das was a student of M.A. Class in the

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Mahtab, <sup>3</sup>Dasabansar Orissa, pp.18-19.

Calcutta University when the special session of Congress was held at Cuttack.<sup>4</sup>

Nagpur Congress and Utkal Union  
Conference in Chakradharpur:

The annual session of Congress, held at Nagpur in December 1920, once again adopted Gandhi's Non-cooperation resolution. This session was attended by 27 delegates from Orissa. From Balasore it was attended by a legal practitioner, named Mukunda Prasad Das (who played an important role in the nationalist movement in Orissa and became the first Speaker of Orissa Legislative Assembly). Das also attended the<sup>5</sup> 'Chakradharpur' session of Utkal Union Conference which was held immediately after the Congress session of Nagpur. The Chakradharpur session of Utkal Union Conference accepted the goal of Congress, decided to merge its identity in the Congress, and resolved to carry on the movements for 'Swaraj' (or self-government) as well as the merger of Oriya tracts through the Congress organisation.

Organisation of Balasore District  
Congress Committee:

The Nagpur Congress allowed the Orissa Congressmen to constitute a separate provincial Congress committee for the Oriya tracts, even though Orissa was not a separate province.

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<sup>4</sup>Wanda Kishore Das, 'Mo Jiban O Janiela Kahani, p.18.

<sup>5</sup>Who's Who of Freedom Workers in Orissa, Balasore District, p.62 (O.S.A).

Early in 1921 the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee (hereafter U.P.C.C.) was organised under the presidentship of Gopabandhu Das. The districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, Angul, Sambalpur, Singhbhum in the province of Bihar and Orissa, and the district of Ganjam in the Madras presidency constituted the jurisdiction of the newly constituted Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee. The U.P.C.C. entrusted the organisation of Congress in the different districts to different persons. Harekrushna Mahtab, a member of U.P.C.C. was given the responsibility of organising Congress in the Balasore district.

The Balasore district Congress Committee was formed on 10 April 1921 with Bipin Bihari Das as the President and Harekrushna Mahtab as the Secretary. Mahtab entrusted the organisation of Congress in different areas of Balasore district to different persons in the following manner:<sup>6</sup>

Banchhanidhi Mohanty	-	Bhadrak Subdivision.
Surendra Nath Das	-	Balasore P.S. and Ronuna P.S.
Nandakishore Das	-	Soro P.S.
Nilambar Das		
Krushna Prasad Mahapatra		Basta, Balaipal and Singla P.S.
Karunakar Panigrahi		
Biswanath Hota		- Jaleswar and Bhograi P.S.

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Mahtab, <sup>6</sup> Sadhanar Patha., pp. 42-44; Interview with Bhairab Chandra Mahapatra, the Octogenarian Congressman, 26.2.66.

Bhairab Chandra Mahapatra remained in charge of the Congress office at Balasore. A centre of Congress activities in the district was opened in the Balasore town. This was called Swaraj Mandir (meaning temple of freedom). In other places of Orissa such centres were called Swaraj Ashrams.

Spread of the Non-cooperation Movement:

The Congress Movement soon became quite popular among the people of the district through the dedicated efforts of a number of young Congressmen. Surendra Nath Das and Muhammed Hanif resigned from the posts of police Sub-Inspector and excise Sub-Inspector and whole-heartedly joined the Non-cooperation Movement. Mahtab discontinued his studies in the Ravenshaw college. With an M.A. degree from the Calcutta university, Wanda Kishore Das<sup>7</sup> did not seek any employment under the Government and chose the hard life of a nationalist worker. Banchhanidhi Mohanty, the nationalist poet discontinued his legal studies. He roused a great deal of nationalist fervour not only as a freedom fighter but also through his songs and poems which became quite popular. Bhairab Chandra Mahapatra<sup>8</sup> left the Ravenshaw College in March 1921, went to Sadaket Ashram and returned to Balasore after three months to carry on the Non-cooperation Movement. Upendra Panda and Subodh Dey left college to join the movement. Students notably Nilambar Das

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<sup>7</sup> Interview on 8.1.86.

<sup>8</sup> Interview in Malikaspur residence on 26.2.86 ;  
Eastern Times, November 8, 1980.



and Diswanath Hota, left the schools and joined the movement.

Gandhi's Visit:

Mahatma Gandhi came to Orissa in March 1921. He reached Bhadrak on 25 March 1921. At Bhadrak, he addressed three meetings.<sup>9</sup> In his address to the people he exhorted them to boycott foreign cloth and institutions, establish national schools and arbitration courts, spread Khadi and give up intoxicants.<sup>10</sup> Gandhi's message of non-violence and fearlessness appealed to the masses. H.K. Mahtab writes how the people responded to Gandhi's appeal: "The very word 'Swaraj' (meaning self-government), uttered by him, created a ray of hope in their gloomy hearts. His repeated denunciation of the British Government as the satanic government roused a spirit of fearlessness among the people. Through his message of non-violence<sup>11</sup> the people could discover their hidden strength. That strength was the uncontrollable strength of the meek and mild people. Nobody could even dream that the people who were so lazy, inactive, lifeless and cowardly a few months back would suddenly become active and bright."<sup>12</sup>

From 6 April to 13 April 1921 the Jalianwallah Bagh week was observed in a peaceful manner throughout the district.

<sup>9</sup> H.K. Mahtab - Gandhi O Odisha, p.16.

<sup>10</sup> Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol.XIX., pp.474-5.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Lakhman Kamila an octogenarian freedom fighter of Remuna on 11.1.86.

<sup>12</sup> Mahtab., Dasabansar Orissa, p.31.

The circulation of the nationalist newspapers and periodicals such as Samai (the Oriya weekly brought out by Gopabandhu Das), Samachar Darnan, Servant, Ananda Bazar Patrika and Swarajya Samachar roused and sustained the spirit of nationalism among the people. Bharatiya Swaraj, the Oriya translation of Mahatma Gandhi's Indian Home Rule by Kruttibas Nanda Sarangi became quite popular among the people. Some poems on Mahatma Gandhi such <sup>as</sup> "Mohan Bansi (the enchanting flute), composed by Banambar Das and Gandhi Mahatma", composed by Jagabandhu Singh gave a lot of thrill and inspiration to the people.

#### Drama:

The Congress ideas were popularised through theatres and operas. At the request of H.K. Mahtab and Nilambar Das, Mukunda Das Drama party staged at Balasore such nationalist plays as 'Prison', 'Adopted Son' and 'Prince'. Krushna Prasad Basu Opera party staged its plays at Ertal and Basta. Mythological plays on Kansa and Prahlad were staged. The fight between the god and the demon in these plays symbolically represented the fight between the nationalist forces and alien rule. These plays had tremendous impact on the mass mind.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Rudra Prasad Mohapatra, a Zamindar of Sinduri was supplying canopy for drama party.

### Implementation of Gandhian Programme:

The Gandhian programme of Non-cooperation had negative as well as positive aspects. The negative aspect of the programme consisted in the boycott of British Government, Government's courts, Government Schools, and British goods. The positive aspect of the programme included such items as raising of subscriptions for Tilak Swaraj Fund, establishment of national schools, promotion of Khadar and other indigenous industries and settlement of disputes through arbitration.

There was an unprecedented awakening among the rural folk. Many of them enrolled themselves in the Congress and contributed to Tilak Swaraj Fund.

The Congressmen started hartal before the Balasore Zilla School, calling upon the students to leave the school and join the Congress movement. Two prominent freedom fighters of Balasore district - Nilambar Das and Biswanath Hota discontinued their studies in Balasore Zilla school. According to Nilambar Das, many others also left the Zilla school at the call of Congress.<sup>14</sup> National schools were established in Balasore town, Bhadrak, Soro.<sup>15</sup> Upendra Panda opened a national school at Guamal.<sup>16</sup> To supervise all the national schools of Orissa a national university, called Utkal Siksha Parishad was established with Pandit Gopabandhu Das as the President and Nanda Kishor Das of Soro as the Secretary.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with the Author on 8.1.86 from 9.00AM to 5.00PM at his Soro residence.

<sup>15</sup> Dasabarsar Orissa, p.29.

<sup>16</sup> Mahatab, Sadhanar Pathe, p.93.

Boycott of foreign cloth and promotion of Khadar were simultaneously carried out. Balasore and Cuttack were the two towns in Orissa, where the boycott of foreign cloths was most successful. For about one year after the commencement of Non-cooperation movement no foreign cloth could come to Balasore market. Subodh Chandra De and Biswanath Hota who had discontinued their studies for joining the Non-cooperation movement suffered a lot because of picketting before foreign cloth shops. In Balasore nearly 50 Congressmen were jailed for carrying on boycott of foreign cloths.<sup>17</sup>

The young Congress volunteers dissuaded the cloth merchants by all possible means from selling foreign cloths. Sometimes they prostrated themselves before the bullock carts, carrying foreign cloths.

On 17 November 1921, a bullock cart carrier of Balasore named Sk. Baksu, while carrying foreign cloth at night from the Balasore Railway station disobeyed the Congress volunteers near Balasore jail. In this case for obstructing the transportation of foreign cloth fifteen persons, including H.K. Mahtab, Mathura Mohan Behera, Aviram Wanda, Purna Chandra Nayak and Bhairab Chandra Mahapatra were fined Rs.25/- each (or sentenced to fifteen days' imprisonment in case of non-payment of fine).<sup>18</sup> Burning of foreign cloths was carried out with religious zeal, after Gandhi had burnt a heap of foreign cloths at Bombay in the wake of A.I.C.C. meeting.

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<sup>17</sup> Mahtab, op. cit. p.34.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Bhairab Chandra Mahapatra on 3.7.87.

The merchants who sold foreign cloths in defiance of the Congress direction were socially boycotted. They were denied the service by washermen, and barbers and all possible help from the villagers. In Jaleswar where boycott of foreign cloth was executed under the direction of Karunakar Panigrahi a Marwari cloth merchant was boycotted by his workers for selling foreign cloths. The workers ceased work in his rice mill. Ultimately he had to return all the foreign cloths to his whole-saler in Calcutta, pay a fine to local Congressmen and give an undertaking to them for not selling foreign cloths for one year.<sup>19</sup>

Boycott of courts and settlement of disputes through arbitration was an interesting feature of the Non-cooperation Movement in Balasore district. Because of the persuasion of Congressmen in Bhadrak, no Zamindar filed any rent suit against the tenants for one year. Banchhanidhi Mohanty played an important role in dissuading the Zamindars of Bhadrak from filing rent suits. Many disputes were settled in the village Panchayats. In Shrijang village which is twenty kilometres away from Balasore town because of the efforts of Gour Mohan Das many disputes could be settled in that village.<sup>20</sup> In that village even sale of lands was registered in the village panchayat.

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<sup>19</sup> Dasabansar Orissa, p.35.

<sup>20</sup> Sadhanar Pathe., p.48.

### The Boycott of Settlement:

Towards the end of 1922, the decision of Government to undertake land settlement perturbed the people settlement of lands usually took place after a lapse of 30 years. But the people were tired of harsh behaviours of settlement assistants and painful increase of tax amount. This was declared in the settlement camp. Settlement work began during harvest period or after that. People had no time to devote for their lands in camps. A notice was issued to the villagers to attend the camp. The Congress Ashram at Balasore took it as an issue. They directed the people not to attend the camp. Everybody boycotted the camp. Even the Amin and camp officers could not get place to stay. Section 144 was clamped on the area. The Balasore Zamindars protested against the policy of the Government. Samanta Bhagbat Prasad Mohapatra took up the matter to Legislative Council. Camp work was postponed for one year. Mathura Mohan Behera who led this agitation was arrested.<sup>21</sup>

### Repression:

House Burning - Soon after the Non-cooperation movement in 1922, house burning became a burning problem in the district as well as Orissa. In Balasore Congress workers were accused of burning houses. Such an accusation was made by Government to create misunderstanding among the common mass about Congress workers. The sufferers were common people. It was a snare on the part of the police to frighten the common people so as to prevent

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<sup>21</sup> Dasabarsar Orissa, p.51.

then from helping Congress workers as well as participating in the freedom movement.<sup>22</sup>

Hence to end the panic a joint move was made both by Government and Congress workers. A Committee to protect the town was formed with District Magistrate, Shyamlal Gupta as Chairman, Superintendent of Police Hudson as Vice-President, Harekrushna Mahatab as Secretary and some gentlemen as members. The members of this joint body controlled the situation. For the first time a body of Private and Government officials could be formed.<sup>23</sup>

The Inimical Attitude of Balasore Municipality towards the Non-cooperation Movement:

Most curious was the role of Balasore Municipality in 1921 in connection with Non-cooperation movement. The Commissioners of the Municipality passed a resolution against the Non-cooperation movement in their meeting held at 7.30 A.M. on 6 April 1921 in the Municipal Office. The meeting was attended by H.L. Khastagir, the Chairman, Rai Sahab Bipin Bihari Dey, Vice-Chairman, the Superintendent of Police, Balasore, the District Inspector of Schools, Balasore, the Civil Surgeon, Balasore, Rai Sahab Prafulla Chandra Pattnaik, Daitari Prasad Das, Manmath Nath Sarkar, Surendra Mohan Mitra, Bined Bihari Kar, Rajanikanta Pattnaik. The resolution which was adopted in pursuance of the Bihar and Orissa Governments' Circular No. 634-711 of 14 February and March 1921 on Non-cooperation

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<sup>22</sup> Mahatab, Dasabansar Orissa, pp. 37, 38, 40-41.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 40-41.

Movement was as follows: "In reference to the Circular sent to us by the Government in regard to non-cooperation movement this municipality desires that in view of the fact that portion of the non-cooperation movement aims at paralyzing the present form, attending non-cooperation meetings lest they may be infected with the po~~rtion~~<sup>rtion</sup>". The resolution was moved by Narendra Nath Sarkar and seconded by Surendra Mohan Mitra. The municipality also passed another resolution which prohibited its employees from attending any non-cooperation meeting. Thus the members of the municipality stated above went against the non-cooperation movement as well as the spirit of the local self-government, as envisaged by Lord Ripon.<sup>24</sup>

Kanika Agitation:

A tenant's uprising took place in 1922 in the Zamindari of Kanika which comprised parts of Balasore as well as Cuttack district. The Cuttack portion was known as 'Chamukhi' and Balasore portion was known as 'Panchamukhi'.

Raja of Kanika made the price of paddy abnormally high. As a result tenants revolted. They were beaten like anything. 150 persons of Chamukhi area being handcuffed were taken to Cuttack via Panchamukha, the Balasore Zamindari. This influenced the Panchamukhi area. Such type of operation created fear complex in Balasore Zamindari which was still calm. Afterwards 78 tenants of Panchamukhi area were convicted under Section 107 CRPC. Section 144 was clamped in Kanika. Chakradhar Behera the leader of the

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<sup>24</sup>No.1 of 1921-22, Proceedings of the Clause 7, Balasore Municipality.



tenants revolt in Kanika was arrested by the S.D.O. An old man aged 60 was convicted in the Bhadrak Collectorate. A book on Kanika by Banchhanidhi Mohanty was banned. Laxmi Narayan Sahu visited the troubled zone and published in the paper the burning issue. S.D.O. passed an order banning any public meeting at Bhadrak on Kanika affairs. Then Hudson was the S.P. of Police. He instructed Mahatab not to hold any meeting on Kanika affairs for which later on Gopabandhu Das and Bhagirathi Mohapatra were arrested. In this connection, High Court gave its verdict that it was a Zamindar tenant conflict rather than treason.

Balasore District Convention 1922 - Nilambar Das, the octogenarian freedom fighter told this author in an interview that the Balasore District Congress Convention took place in 1922 under the leadership of Gopabandhu Chowdhury. During this period most of the famous Congress leaders were coming to Balasore to address over the function of Congress Convention. In 1922 most of the leaders were arrested and put into prison.

Basta Congress Convention 1923 - In 1923, the District Congress Convention was held at Basta. Rajkrushna Bose<sup>25</sup> presided over the Convention on 22-4-23. Nilambar Das told this author that he was the organiser. Sri Das was organising Congress work for National liberation at the grass root level. He was assisted by Subodh Chandra Dey, Chintamani Mohanty of Basta contributed

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Mahatab, <sup>25</sup>Dasabansar Orissa, p.26, Interview with B.C.Mohapatra.

Rs.3,000/- towards Congress convention. It was also passed in the meeting that so long as tax on salt was not abolished, nobody would take salt. In another resolution 'Tricolour Flag' was suggested to be honoured by all. Gradually branches of Swaraj Ashrams were established in Basta and Bhandari Pokhari and other places.

Elections to District Board and  
Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council:

The Election for Balasore Municipality and District Board in 1923<sup>26</sup> took place. Mahatab took part in it as a part of national work. He became the Chairman of the Board. Johnstone was then the Collector of Balasore. Efforts were made to start union Boards at Remuna, Chandbali. Even in Kanika, the Raja's zamindary, the Board's works were carried on and influenced the people. The tenants of this place were somewhat relieved<sup>27</sup> by the interference of Board. The Board's activities divulged the Kanika Raja's evil intentions.<sup>28</sup> In 1923 Radharanjan Das and Bhagbat Prasad Mohapatra were elected to the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. In 1926 H.K. Mahatab went to attend Bihar Orissa Legislative Council as a representative. As a legislator he highlighted in the Legislative Council Raja's inhuman torture on his people.

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Mahatab, <sup>26</sup> Dasabansar Orissa, pp.56,57.

<sup>27</sup> History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol.III, p.72.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Vol.III, p.75.

Mahtab's Various Public Activities in Balasore:

Harekrushna Mahatab brought out an Oriya weekly paper 'Prajatanttra' on 2-10-23<sup>29</sup> and an English periodical entitled 'Adventure' from Balasore. It was published from Balasore Ashram. Balasore became a hotbed of Hindu Musalman dispute over beat of drums in front of Masjid (prayer Hall).<sup>30</sup> Mahtab was always apprehending attack. Hindus were weaker. Mahtab started an association of players with sticks named 'Birastani Akhada Group'. These players used to worship Bir Hanuman, the devotee of Sri Ramachandra of epic, The Ramayan. He was colossus. After such a beginning Hindus were not misbehaved by Muslims in Balasore. From these days every year till now such association used to demonstrate their game with sticks and swords in front of Goddess Durga in Dasahara festival that takes place in the month of October. Bhairab Chandra Mohapatra in his interview added that Biswanath Nota had played prominent role in organising such an association.

The district Congress Conference was held on 23rd May 1924 in Jaleswar. Karunakar Panigrahi was organising the conference. The same year Gopabandhu Dash came to North Balasore

<sup>29</sup> Mahtab, Sadbanar Pathe, pp. 104-105, Dasabanasar Orissa, p.58.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Bhairab Ch. Mohapatra ( 88 years freedom fighter) on 26.2.86, 3.7.87 at his Mallikapur Residence) ; Eastern Times November 8, 1980.

Hereafter Basta also became the venue of another conference. Mahatab organised both these sittings. Nilambar Das exhorted all to extract salt for their use and sell the same in front of Police station. Harekrushna Mahatab, Karunakar Panigrahi, Mathura Mohan Behera went to north Balasore via Basta. Police issued warrant against Nilambar Das. Das told that he disguised himself to evade the eye of police. He even hid himself in bamboo bushes. Sometimes he acted as a fisherman to hoodwink the angry and cunning eye of police. Khadikepada was a Khandayat populated area in north Balasore. He himself hid there and police had no easy access because of their unity.

Mahatab organised a conference of Primary School Teachers at Balasore. Use of Khadi and Spinning were introduced to teachers and students.

In 1926 Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee convened a meeting in the Swaraj Ashram of Cuttack. In that meeting Mahatab was elected President to the General Council and Jadumoni Mangaraj as Secretary. Nanda Kishore Das and Benchhanidhi Mohanty became members.

In 1927 Balasore suffered much due to heavy flood. Bhairab Chandra Mohapatra, Upendra Nath Panda, Abhiram Nanda and Harekrushna Mahatab worked hard to give relief for the flood affected people. Agrawalla Panchayat, Marwari Relief Society, Gujrat Relief Society, Ramkrishna Mission, Bharat Sevasram reached Bhadrak to extend help to the distressed. News and photos of such calamity came out in paper. Rev. C.F. Andrews brought this matter to the Viceroy

of India.<sup>31</sup> As a result, an Enquiry Committee was instituted for the flood. C.F. Andrews, Rev. Pakkar, Horace Alexander came to Orissa to help the flood affected people. C.F. Andrews reached Balasore.<sup>32</sup> He stayed in Swaraj Mandir at Balasore for 4 days. He was welcomed with songs composed by Nanda Kishore Das. He and members of the Commission and Laxminarayan Sahu went through the report of Congress workers headed by Mahatab and the Government report too. The Congress workers report on the flood was accepted. 9 lakhs of rupees came as help.<sup>33</sup>

Second Visit of Mahatma  
Gandhi to Balasore -1927:

Mahatma Gandhi visited Orissa again on 18th December 1927. It was his second visit to Orissa. He stayed in Charbatia village in Bhadrak Sub-division for two days.

Nilgiri Rising:

Around 1928 another rising like that of Kanika raised its head in Nilgiri state which is 14 kilometres away from the Balasore town. Like Kanika, a heavy tax was imposed on the people of Nilgiri by the Raja on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. This added to their previous burden of taxes and other exactions collected by the king during the time of hunting (Kheda). Moreover, Nilgiri was so close to Balasore that the news of freedom movement was always knocking at Nilgiri. Naturally the hardpressed people had become conscious of the evils of Raja.

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<sup>31</sup>Praintantra, p.5, 3.3.1985.

<sup>32</sup>Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol.III, p.81.

<sup>33</sup>Sadhanar Pathe, p.123.

Hence the people decided not to pay more tax on account of marriage. They started agitation against the tyrannical chief. Harekrushna Mahtab was already known in Balasore as the able organiser of freedom movement. People of Nilgiri communicated to him their grievances in writing. Mahtab published in Prajatantra Press a leaflet titled 'Oppression in Nilgiri' and circulated it widely. Consequently the Raja became more oppressive. On the advice of Mahtab,<sup>34</sup> thousands of people left Nilgiri and came to Balasore to demonstrate their protest against the Raja's oppression. Mahtab ventilated this news to Rev. C.F. Andrews. Immediately the latter came down to Balasore and saw the refugees of Nilgiri calmly waiting. In his book 'Indians and Simon Commission' C.F. Andrews has given the following description of the sufferings of the people of Nilgiri:

"Shortly after the departure of Mahatma Gandhi from Orissa for the Madras Congress about a thousand residents of a neighbouring Garjat ran away to Balasore with stories of relentless cruelty and oppression perpetrated on them. Their allegation was that the Raja was squandering away every thing in luxury, that there were no accounts maintained of the rents realised, that people's suffering had exceeded all limits and many of them had left the state in search of justice. They were waiting at Balasore for months together with endless patience which could be compared with the patience of John in the Bible.<sup>35</sup> They were firm

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<sup>34</sup>History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, p.100;  
Dasabansar Orissa, p.61.

<sup>35</sup>Quoted from Dasabansar Orissa, p.61.

that they would not return home until their sufferings were remedied. At Balasore some Swaraj workers had also helped these poor people by saving them from starvation".

C.F. Andrews settled the problem with the Raja. Raja agreed to lift the tax and pay wages properly to the labourers. The agitation came to an end.

In 1929 that the Balasore Municipality election was postponed because of the coming of the Simon Commission which had been boycotted by the Congress. The Municipality passed the following resolution: "The local self-government be requested to postpone the election of the Municipal Commissioners of the Balasore Municipality till the report of Simon's Commission is out." The above resolution was passed in the presence of Rai Saheeb Bipin Bihari De, President, Narendra Nath Sarkar, Rai Saheeb Prafulla Chandra Pattnaik, Vice-Chairman. The Civil Surgeon of Balasore, Mr. J. Simon, V.A.J. Underwood, Gyan Ranjan Pattnaik, Rai Bahadur Manmath Nath Dey, Manoranjan De, Tona Charan Deb Mandal, Moulavi Abdul Gany, Radha Prasana Das, Moulavi Sk. Taffayal Hossein.<sup>36</sup>

#### Civil Disobedience Movement:

The Congress Session held at Lahore towards the end of December 1929 declared complete independence as its goal, to be attained by non-violent Civil Disobedience Movement. The

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<sup>36</sup>No.2, Proceedings of an Ordinary Meeting of the Commissioners of Balasore Municipality held on Friday 5th July 1929 at 8.00A.M.

entire nation was excited by this decision of the Congress. Everybody waited anxiously for Mahatma's lead. After two months of silence, Gandhi declared his resolve to start Civil Disobedience by breaking salt laws. On 12 March 1930 at 6.30 A.M. he started his historic march from his Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi, a place on the sea-shore, which was 241 miles away from his Ashram to break the salt law by picking up salt left on the shore by the sea. Thereafter, he asked all Indians to break salt law openly and prepare themselves for non-violent resistance to police action.

Preparation for Civil Disobedience Movement:

In January 1930, Nanda Kishore Das of <sup>O</sup>Sro, Balasore resigned from his seat in the Provincial Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa in pursuance of Congress Order.<sup>37</sup>

The Third Session of the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee was held at Balasore on 15.3.30. The meeting chose Gopabandhu Chowdhury to lead the Civil Disobedience Movement in Orissa. He was to finalise the time and place for such campaign.<sup>38</sup>

The freedom movement took a new shape in 1930 in Balasore. This year Harekrushna Mahtab who had been giving reception to matric examinees every year at Balasore urged them to participate in Salt Movement in Balasore.

On 20 March 1930, the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee chose Inchudi, a place in the Balasore sea-shore which was twenty kilometres away from the Balasore town as the place

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<sup>37</sup> Report of C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 September 1930, p.2, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., Patnaik Surendra Nath, Odisara Swadhinata Andolana, p.72.



where the Civil Disobedience Movement would be launched by manufacturing contraband salt.

Gopabandhu Chowdhury and Acharjya Harihar Dash were to lead a team of Congress Civil resisters to violate salt laws at Inchuri early in April 1930.<sup>39</sup> This was the first batch of salt Satyagrahis in Orissa. The list of Satyagrahees are as follows: (1) Acharjya Harihar Das, (2) Murari Tripathy, (3) Gunanidhi Mohanty, (4) Madhabananda Das, (5) Durga Prasad Garh, (6) Sadhu Charan Padhi, (7) Gokulananda Mohanty, (8) Gouranga Charan Mohanty, (9) Ram Prasad Sahu, (10) Gobinda Chandra, (11) Siba Prasad Bhagat, (12) Sudhansu Sekhar Gupta, (13) Biswanath Hota, (14) Raghunath Mishra, (15) Udayanath Mohanty, (16) A.M. Mohapatra, (17) Kalipad Das, (18) Sridhar Moharana, (19) Balaram Das, (20) Golaknath De, (21) Purna Chandra Bose.

A meeting was held on the bed of the river Kathjuri in Cuttack to give warm send off to the Civil resisters on 5 April 1930. Gopabandhu Chowdhury, Pandit Krupasindhu Hota, Kedarnath Ray, Kishor Mohan Jardar addressed the meeting. On 6 April 1930, Gopabandhu Chowdhury<sup>40</sup> marched to Inchudi from Cuttack with the above 21 Satyagrahis. But after his twenty miles foot march from Cuttack to Balasore, he was arrested. Thereafter, Acharya Harihar Dash headed the expedition.

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<sup>39</sup> Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol.III, p.85 ; Report of C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 September 1930, p.3., A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>40</sup> Report on Civil Disobedience Movement in Utkal, 25 Sept. 1930, p.3, A.I.C.C. letters ; Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, January, 1930-March, 1931., p.1, A.I.C.C.letters.

The second batch of 20 Satyagrahis left Cuttack for Inchudi on 9 April 1930 under the leadership of Madan Mohan Pattnaik.

Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi:

On 11 April 1930, Jibramji Kothari and Surendra Nath Das of Rasalpur were arrested near Inchudi in the village Tundra, while they were preparing the ground for the salt satyagraha at Inchudi.<sup>41</sup> They were sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment each. This arrest on the salt belt of Balasore for the first time drew attention of the people of Orissa and created stir.

Jibramji had come to Balasore after meeting Gandhi. He had already learnt the technique of extracting salt. He also brought some salt earth with him and showed the device of extracting salt from salty water before police.

Acharjya Harihar Dash and others coming in evening train, reached Balasore on the 12th. In Balasore Permit Kothi became the camp of Satyagrahis.<sup>42</sup>

Accompanied by other Satyagrahis, Acharjya Harihar Das, the Commander of the Satyagrahi regiment walked on foot from Balasore to Inchudi on 13 April to commence the violation of

<sup>41</sup> Report on Civil Disobedience Movement in Utkal, 25 September, 1930, p.4, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>42</sup> Permit Khoti was the first Salt Office of the British Government in the province. It was the passage through which articles of trade were permitted to leave the port and enter inland after due scrutiny by the customs officer. It is in front of Government Hospital. At present it is a rice mill and the adjacent field is called permit field. Balasore Zilla School Souvenir, 1853.

salt laws. He gave prior notice<sup>43</sup> to the district authority for such a move. He was given tumultuous reception by the villagers on the chartered route in this freedom march. It was similar to Gandhi's Dandi march. He was arrested with others at 8.00A.M. on 13 April when he broke the salt law by picking up a handful of salt earth. Police made lathi charge on Satyagrahis.<sup>44</sup>

According to Bholanath Dash, an octogenarian of the Srijung village who was present when Acharjya Harihar Dash was arrested by the police.<sup>45</sup> 4 to 5 police men were engaged to control one Satyagrahi. The Satyagrahis did not open their fists. It became difficult for the policemen to control them. One old man called Binod Chowdhury who did not give salt earth to police was beaten mercilessly. Even police exercised Akar power by pressing their boots on the legs and hands of the Satyagrahis. The old man Binod Chowdhury was thrown into a ditch. This was done in the presence of an Indian Superintendent of Police named Rabb.<sup>46</sup> His courage and love for mother-land was so supreme that this cruelty became meaningless to him. The old man did not leave the salt earth. The police officers were very cruel while behaving with the Satyagrahis. Police started throwing the salt earth collected from the Satyagrahis. But the Satyagrahis tried

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<sup>43</sup> Report on Civil Disobedience Movement in Utkal, 25 September, 1930, p.4, A.I.C.C. Letters.

<sup>44</sup> Report on C.D. Move in Utkal, 25 Sept., 1930, p.4. A.I.C.C. letters; Utkal Deepika, 19 April 1930, p.122; Utkal Sarvodaya Mandal, 'Sradhanjali' Pt. I, pp.39, 365.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Bholanath Dash in Srijungon 10.12.86; Report of C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 Sept., p.4, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>46</sup> Report on Salt Campaign, Appendix-C, p.3, A.I.C.C. letters.

to collect the same. In spite of the obstruction of police, Satyagrahis extracted salt from salt earth in many camps.<sup>47</sup> The Congress volunteers also sold this contraband salt in Balasore town and other places.

The Repressive Measures by the Police:

At first the police dissuaded the people from taking part in the Civil Disobedience Movement. They also called the Satyagrahis bad names in order to irritate them. Police also broke salt pots, destroyed salt pans, assaulted volunteers, police also made lathi charges. They also twisted the Satyagrahis wrists,<sup>48</sup> threw them on the ground, trampled them under boots. They also arrested and detained the Satyagrahis in the hot sun without providing them any food. Police also tried to snatch away the salt earth from the hands of Satyagrahis which they refused to give. Police adopted the method of catching two hands of Satyagrahis from behind. Sometimes urine was poured on Satyagrahis. Sometimes they were left unconscious, wounded without getting any aid. Sometimes they were dragged to police station like dead animals, blood flowing on roads. An old lady of eighty was assaulted by police while requesting the police to free her son. On 13.4.30 while one Niranjan Mohanty<sup>49</sup> was carrying 'brine' to Balasore from Inchudi was beaten with batten by European Sergeant and constables.

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<sup>47</sup> Satyagraha, pp.65, 624, Collected Works of Gandhi.

<sup>48</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, Jan., 1930- March 1931, p.1, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>49</sup> Report of C.D.Movement in Utkal, 25 Sept., 1930, p.6, A.I.C.C. letters.

Satyagrahis used to stay for salt extraction in the field from the morning up to 12 O'clock in the afternoon. They always struggled hard till they were in senses or "did not lose their last bit of strength to keep the sacred salt safe and there-by save the honour of the country."<sup>50</sup>

Different Regiments of Civil Resisters:

From 13 April 1930 regiments of civil resisters from all over Orissa Swarmed to Inchudi. The place drew the attention of all. This village became the selected field where all wanted to break salt law. The Collector, S.P. and armed police had camped there earlier. On 13 April 1930, the Satyagrahis of 3rd regiment came from Puri and fourth batch of Satyagrahi came from Cuttack to Inchudi.<sup>51</sup> Satyagrahis on behalf of Utkal District Committee from Ganjam, Sambalpur, Baripada came to Inchudi. These teams bore different names. The groups of Cuttack bore the name of 'Louha Stamba Bahini' and of Puri 'Patitapaban Bahini'. The District Congress Committee of Jamshedpur<sup>52</sup> also sent its team of civil resisters to Inchudi. Some Gujaratis from different parts of Orissa also joined this movement.<sup>53</sup> Children, women, youngmen and oldmen jumped emotionally into such a colossal call for the liberation of their motherland. Around 13 villages of nearby places joined this movement. Numbers of volunteers multiplied.

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<sup>50</sup> Report of Salt Campaign, p.3, Appendix-C, A.I.C.C. letters; Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, Jan. 1930 to March 1931, p.7, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>51</sup> Report of the C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 Sept., 1930, p.4, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Desabansar Orissa, pp.73-74.

People's Reaction to the Official Repression:

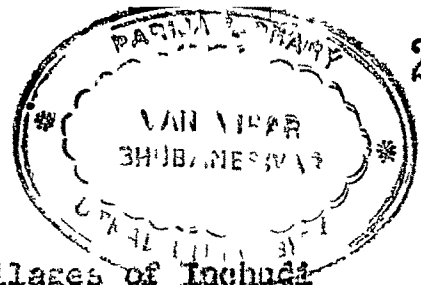
While the police continued its policy of repression, the people reacted to it by socially boycotting the Government officials. The officers who had earlier camped there could not get rice, fire-wood, water etc. from the villages. They were bound to carry these things from the town. In these adverse situation, the officers had to carry back all their luggages to town. This is how police and officers suffered.<sup>54</sup>

Salt belongs to sea. People of Balasore villages in coastal belt always used to extract <sup>it</sup> in earlier days. On the other hand Government realised enormous amount of money from an excise tax on salt. Afterwards the Indian people were denied by the British Government the right to extract salt.

Gandhi had decided to launch Satyagraha on the issue of salt, because it was everybody's food from the poor to the rich. He wanted to demonstrate that it was the birthright of every Indian to extract salt, the nature's gift. Hence, salt laws were to be broken. Inchudi sea beach was an ideal site for salt manufacture. When the waves of the sea receded from the seashore, store up sea water became available in thousands of acres, which everybody extracted. People broke the salt law by picking up salt left on the seashore'.

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Mahatab, <sup>54</sup>Dasabarasar Orissa, pp.75.



The people in the surrounding villages of Inchudi extended all possible help and cooperation to the Satyagrahis. Inchudi became a place of pilgrimage. People visited the spot with food stuffs for the Satyagrahis. They supplied rice, vegetables, ghee and other consumable articles. The chief Organisers of Civil Disobedience used to send a limited number of Satyagrahis, to lead mass operations daily, and to depute others in batches to neighbouring villages for propaganda and opening of new centres for manufacture of salt.

On 15 April the action of police became most brutal. They broke the salt manufacturing earthen pots such as 'boiling brine' and the earthen pots for cooking rice used for Civil Resisters in Inchudi. This was done in front of the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, Balasore who were both Indians having 120 constables with them.

Other Centres of Salt Satyagraha in Balasore District:

Towards the last part of April 1930 about 21 centres were opened for breach of salt law in the sea-shore of Balasore right from South to north. These were organised by the Satyagrahis. Salt Satyagraha was carried on at various other places such as Rasalpur, Srijang, Sardhanpur, Bhimpur, Tundra, Kuanrpur, Gudu, Rajbala, Salagaon, Boita, Kharang, Kharsasahapur, Athilabaj, Brahamapur, Mandari, Bachheda, Eram, Panchapada, Ratei, Saratha, Parikhi.<sup>55</sup> These places remained under the leadership of Karunakar Panigrahi, Nilambar Das, Mathura Mohan Behera.

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<sup>55</sup> Report of C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 September 1930, p.6, A.I.C.C. letters ; Utkal Dipika, 21 June, 1930, p.226.

Not only call to disobey salt law was enough, the procedure to spread the practice was taken up by one or two pledged Civil Resisters with determination who extended help to the village people to break salt law. They also collected such salt for their day to day use. On 23-4-30, 75 Satyagrahis were lathi charged when at that time "two Aeroplanes were seen hovering over the scene".<sup>56</sup>

The wave of salt movement touched entire shore of Balasore sea coast. Notice was served to the D.M., Balasore that Satyagrahis would observe Satyagraha in Saratha (east of Haladipada market). Karunakar Panigrahi, Nilambar Das, Biswanath Hota, Bhagabat Sahu began to continue this action along the sea coast.<sup>57</sup> Biswanath Hota, Narendra Nath Jena, Bhagabat Sahu went to Saratha to extract salt from salt earth and thereby broke salt law. It was 11.00 A.M. on 20 April. Police arrested Karunakar Panigrahi and Mathura Mohan Behera and village Chief, Chintamani Mohanty, Madhusudan Das on the Sartha salt bed.

Nilambar Das and Karunakar Panigrahi were sentenced to one year imprisonment and others 6 months. Government wanted to frighten the Satyagrahis and villagers.

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<sup>56</sup> Report of C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 September 1930, p.6, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>57</sup> Satyagraha, Collected works of Mahatma Gandhi, p.630.



### Organisation of Banar Senas (Monkey Brigades):

It was Mahatma Gandhi's direction to include the boys below the age of 16 in disobedience movement, because of the shortage of volunteers to carry on the struggle. Students left their studies being influenced by this movement. They were Gajendra Nath Sahu, Babindra Mohan Das, Nityananda Mohapatra, Kshetra Mohan Raul, Gourgopal Das. They enrolled themselves as Satyagrahis.

### Role of Women:

A number of women belonging to the villages in the vicinity of Salt Satyagraha centres joined the Satyagraha. Rama Devi and Malati Devi led the first batch of woman Satyagrahis who manufactured contraband salt at Inchudi on 20 April 1930. Both of them extracted salt in two separate camps along with village women. On 21 April, 30 women of Kuanrpur village near Inchudi threw themselves heart and soul into the Satyagraha. Among them Ambika, Annapurna, Uma, Satyabhara became famous. The women Satyagrahis also sold salt. Being inspired by them in different camps thousands of villagers broke the salt law. Gouri Devi, the wife of Surendra Nath Das, was the first lady to extract salt from earth in a woven after blowing conchshell.

On 22 April, 60 ladies from different neighbouring villages of Inchudi such as Tundra, Doita, Kuanrpur, Kuligan, Rasalpur, Srijung, Bhimpur joined the salt Satyagraha. In toto 20 maunds of salt was extracted by them.

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<sup>58</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal - January, 1930-31, p.2, A.I.C.C. letters.

Satyagraha brought some dramatic changes in the life style of women. Women came out of their seclusion to take part in the freedom struggle alongwith man. 'Hundres of enthusiastic women of all classes and communities discarded the age old pardah to greet and receive the Satyagrahis when they passed near or through their villages". This was most encouraging in an hour when sons of the soil were courting arrest and physically tortured for their motherland.<sup>59</sup> "When all the leading men workers were put into prison, women filled the responsible position and though quite new in the field carried on the fight most ably and enthusiastically"...." Women worked more strenuously and bore greater hardships than many of the men leaders could have done".<sup>60</sup>

Although a considerable number of women took part in the Salt Satyagraha, only five of them were prosecuted. They were Sarala Devi, Chandramani Devi, Sunamani Devi, Malati Devi, Rama Devi. Besides them one old lady also courted arrest for breach of salt law in Balasore sea coast.<sup>61</sup> In Bhadrak Subdivision of Balasore such as Eram, Athilabag area hundreds of women and volunteers were assaulted by police. Police disperaged their modesty.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, Jan., 1930 - March 1931, p.8., A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Report on Salt Campaign, 1930, Appendix-C, pp.5-6., A.I.C.C. letters.

Chaulia Bara Episode:

Most heart rending incident of police brutality took place at the village Sinduri, 2 miles to the south of Balasore town on 25 April 1930. On that day 300 villagers and Satyagrahis were carrying some maunds of contraband salt from Inchudi to Balasore (On present salt road<sup>63</sup> named after such salt movement) Satyagraha camp at Permit Kothi, they were stopped at a place called 'Chauliabara'<sup>64</sup> near Sinduri village. Then followed police attack. The following description of police brutalities has been given in A.I.C.C. file:

"It was about 2 O'Clock in the mid-day. The sun was burning high and the way was entirely sandy. Volunteers and the villagers were all coming hungry and thirsty after the whole day's operations, but were all on a sudden attacked by a force of armed constable headed by Police Officers, the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and the S.P. These cowards had a premeditated plan to suddenly attack the Satyagraha party and teach them a lesson. They therefore concealed themselves behind some thorny bushes called 'KIA' and suddenly attacked the party from behind. The beating was merciless, so horrible and so inhuman that words cannot describe them. They were trampled by the police who had (hobb nailed) ammunition boots. Out of a crowd of 300, 60 persons became senseless, more than half wounded".<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>. Salt Road starts from Balasore town to Bhadrak Parallel  
<sup>64</sup> In Oriya Rice is called Chaul. Here rice purchase ~~along the sea~~  
 and sale was done. Bara means Banyan tree. ~~coast~~ <sup>coast</sup> ~~bank~~ <sup>bank</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> Report on Salt Campaign, Appendix-C, p.4, A.I.C.C. letters.

It was very surprising that 'three or four lorry loads of armed police' attacked these unarmed Satyagrahis. The Police not only used freely lathis, fists, battons but dragged the Satyagrahis by their legs. Satyagrahis stood firm even though police rained blow after blow over them.<sup>66</sup>

The villagers of Sinduri and Keshi came running to the spot with water and food and first-aid to save the thirsty, wounded Civil Resisters. One old man of the village named Brundaban Senapati told this author that his sacred thread ceremony was being observed on that day. Naturally water rice in plenty could be available which could save thirsty Satyagrahis.<sup>67</sup> ~~They~~ were carried secretly for aid towards the pond side of late Ramanarayan Mohapatra a Zamindar of the area. These who helped were Musi Nani (lady), Narendra Senapati, Ramanarayan Mohapatra, Gajendra Senapati, Gadadhar Senapati. Photos were also taken during such incident. The situation became so tense that a clash seemed inevitable. But exemplary non-violence of the villagers controlled the situation. The Superintendent of Police ordered retreat.<sup>68</sup> The author in his visit saw a big palm tree standing as a mute testimony of the heart-rending incident.

<sup>66</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, Jan. 1930 - March 1931.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Brundaban Senapati on 12.8.87, Dasabarsar Orissa, p.76.

<sup>68</sup> Report on Salt Campaign, Appendix-C, p.4, A.I.C.C.letters.

The Arrest of leaders and continuation of Repression:

The front rank leaders of the Civil Disobedience Movement such as Gopabandhu Chowdhury, Harekrushna Mahtab, Krushna Prasad Mohanty were arrested. Within a short time after the commencement of movement, the Divisional Commissioner of Orissa visited Satyagraha scene at Inchudi and ordered the arrest of Pranakrushna Pratihari, Congress doctor Krupasindhu Khuntia and others on 26 April 1930.<sup>69</sup> While the leaders were arrested and jailed, the police atrocities on the ordinary workers and volunteers continued. Police made lathi charges in Kherang. In Kharasapur, Athilabad houses were burnt by police. On 21 May 1930 when a vast crowd of 2,500 including women were carrying salt earth were lathicharged.<sup>70</sup> Police started snatching ornaments from the nose and ears of the women and otherwise molested them. The women did not try to recover their ornaments that were scattered about and were being collected by the constables but came back with their salt earth.<sup>71</sup> The entire district of Balasore was astir. In Eram about 600 women joined this movement to break salt law on 8 June 1930.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Report of C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 September, 1930, p.7., A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>70</sup> Salt Campaign, Appendix-C, pp.5-6, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>71</sup> Report of C.D. Movement, 25 September 1930, p.7., A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>72</sup> Utkal Deepika, 21 June 1930, p.226.

Daily arrests and convictions continued with simultaneous breach of law at Inchudi and other salt law breaking centres. Few cases were sent for trial to court.

With the advent of monsoon (end of June) the campaign for the defiance of salt laws was automatically suspended. Even then brutalities of the Police did not cease which indirectly strengthened the firmness and determination of the Satyagrahis. Thus, the more the oppression, the more the determination. Police began to raid Congress Ashram in Balasore District.

Movement for Non-payment of Chaukidari Tax and Shrijang Incident:

A no tax campaign began against the payment of Chaukidari Tax in one Chaukidari Union of Balasore thana. It was Union IX. Chaukidari Tax was collected as a principle by the President, the head of Chaukidars. President was either a Zamindar or a richman from village appointed from the side of the Government. Government paid him something out <sup>of</sup> this collection. Under him, there were some 10/12 Chaukidars. People were ordered to pay this tax besides land tax. Naturally people were taxed hard.<sup>73</sup> When Congress Ashram in town and village were captured by the Police, Lingaraj Misra and Brajanath Mishra, President and Secretary of the U.P.C.C. respectively made a whirlwind tour of no-tax area in Balasore. They carried a campaign against the payment of Chaukidari tax.

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<sup>73</sup> Mahatab, Dasabarsar Orissa, p.77.

Police made assault and looting Kesarpur village was one of the most affected villages where Police brutality reached climax. Conch-shells were then used to warn the villagers about the arrival of Police. Police demanded Chaukidari tax. It was one rupee and eight annas. After breaking the doors of the house, Police had taken 300 rupees in cash and other property.<sup>74</sup>

Police threatened two ladies such as Mother of one Ananta and mother of Babaji. They refused to pay Chaukidari tax.<sup>75</sup> Those ladies were forced by police to part their ornaments. This happened in the first week of July 1930.

In the same eventful month of July 1930, when Union 9 (IX) became victim to Police attack, a village Srijanga famous for salt Satyagraha situated in the neighbouring Union No.10 and outside No Tax area<sup>76</sup> was subjected to atrocity of police under different circumstances.<sup>77</sup> Here P.C.C. had not started no tax campaign. The population of Srijang was about 4 thousand. The villagers did not stop<sup>78</sup> payment of Chaukidari Tax. The tax was normally paid in instalment.

80 per cent of the village people had cleared up their dues, some paid for 'half of the year'. The situation took a serious turn because of highhandedness of the Chaukidari President. The President refused to give receipts of actual

<sup>74</sup>Salt Campaign, Appendix-C, p.9., A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>C.D.Movement in Utkal, 25 Sept., 1930, p.12, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>78</sup>Appendix-C, Salt and No Tax Campaign, p.9, A.I.C.C.letters.

payment.<sup>79</sup> The President asked these people to pay up their arrears. They refused to pay till they got receipts for the amount already realised. Bhagirathi Das was Chaukidari President. Village people who had not yet cleared up their dues lodged a protest against the conduct of the President and demanded either an apology or his removal before any further payment of the tax was made 'On earlier occasions the people did not like his support to the British Government by giving 'false evidence in a case against Congress workers'.<sup>80</sup>

On July 18, 1930 one S.I. of Police accompanied by 6 armed constables and a Dafadar reached the village and ordered for payment of the outstanding taxes. But people placed their grievances against the President before the S.I. The problem could not be discussed as the President was not available on that day.

Very strangely the police who came to help in the President's work for realisation of tax and who promised the villagers earlier to solve the issue reached in the morning of 12th July with armed police force. The police immediately arrested the 3 Satyagrahis,<sup>81</sup> of the village Ashram and also two other noted villagers under the Chaukidari Tax ordinance.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, January 1930 - March 1931, p.6.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.



Police became too much rapacious. Police ordered lathi charge. The people were astonished to see such high-handedness of the police and begged them to free their arrested brethren.<sup>83</sup> Srijang was always in the bad books of police. Hence police wanted an opportunity to teach the villagers a lesson.

Such animosity of the police towards the people led to a clash between the villagers and the police. Ten youths<sup>84</sup> of Srijang village retaliated. As a result, 6 police men and some people were injured.<sup>85</sup> But most interesting was that the 3 Satyagrahis saved the police S.I. and 4 constables from a virulent attack<sup>86</sup> of the youth aging within 20 years. These young boys belonged to the ordinary village families. They did not hail from educated classes. The Satyagrahis rather gave the injured policemen first-aid bringing them to their local Ashram.

On 12 July, the District Magistrate, S.P., one Inspector, 2 S.Is. and 5 armed constables reached Srijang village at 9 O'Clock at night. When police opened fire people went berserk. S.P. and D.M. left the police there to bring the area under control.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup>Appendix-C, Salt Campaign, p.10, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>J.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 September 1930, p.12, A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>86</sup>Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, Jan. 1930 - March 1931, pp. 6, 20., A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>87</sup>Appendix-C, Salt Campaign, p.10, A.I.C.C. letters.

That night village Srijang looked deserted. Police looted mercilessly 44 houses. Property approximately one lakh of rupees was taken away by police, three women were raped, 'images of family gods were broken'. Police took twenty thousand rupees in cash from nearby villages<sup>88</sup> by applying methods of intimidation. So a reign of terror was let loose for many days. The house of Gour Mohan Das, a rich man of the village was looted.<sup>89</sup> He was absent on that day.

After such an operation of police, Punitive Police was posted<sup>90</sup> at Srijang and 30 neighbouring villages. At the same time Punitive tax<sup>91</sup> was also realised from that village and other 30 nearby villages. An amount of Rs.6,000/- was realised. People took shelter in nearby villages. Approximately 60 persons had been arrested for offence of rioting and underwent trial. Provincial Congress Committee suspended for the time being, the No Tax Campaign because of such atrocity of police in Srijang.

In Srijang Riot case<sup>92</sup> that broke out on 12 July 1930, 72 persons became absconders. In this case, Collector wrote to the Commissioner, Orissa Division, Cuttack that 'Gour Prasad

<sup>88</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, January 1930 - March 1931, p.6, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>89</sup> No Tax Campaign, Appendix-C, p.10, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>90</sup> Report of C.D.Movement in Utkal, 25 Sept., 1930, p.12; Report on No Tax Campaign, Appendix-C, p.11, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>91</sup> It was a tax imposed on the people and area for their anti-police attitude and activity.

<sup>92</sup> Srijang Riot file No.5, Confidential Section, Balasore Collectorate, A.C.C.-56, W.F.C.C., p.2.

Das was a leader and assaulted the Sub-Inspector'.

"Bouli Rath was a leader and was rioting".

"Baidi Das, dressed himself as a Constable and assaulted the Sub-Inspector and President".

"Damodar Das was one of those who surrounded the Sub-Inspector and had scuffle with the police".

"Bhagaban Mohanty assaulted the President".<sup>93</sup>

During the month of July, Satyagraha camps were declared unlawful.<sup>94</sup> Satyagraha basically meant the interest and benefit of the people.

Laxminarayan Sahu of the servants of Indian Society and Pandit Lingaraj Mishra, the then acting President of U.P.C.C.<sup>95</sup> conducted an enquiry into the police atrocities at Srijang. As a token of protest against the barbarous activities of the Government and a token of sympathy for the innocent people. Samanta Bhagabat Prasad Chaudhuri Mohapatra of Bhadrak resigned his seat in Bihar and Orissa Council.<sup>96</sup>

But again similar incident<sup>97</sup> took place in Kesharpur led by the Sub-Deputy Madan Mohan Pattnaik accompanied by a Police party. On 24 July Gopinathpur was raided by S.P. A villager, Bhagabat Bhuyan was arrested. All his property were taken away. Others such as Babu Parida (65), Lachman

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid2, p.2, ACC-56, U.W.C.C.

<sup>94</sup> Report of C.D.Movement, 25 Sept. 1930, p.12, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>95</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, Jan. 1930 - March 1931, p.8, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> No Tax Campaign, Appendix-C, p.11, A.I.C.C.letters.

Barik and Baishnab Naik with 8 Satyagrahis courted arrest. The village Keshapur was raided for the third time. A villager named Banshidar was arrested, Kedarnath, Laxmidhar Mohapatra were tortured.

The villagers of Potagaon such as Baikuntha Mohanty, Kamal Das, Mohan Khatua, Madha Majhi, Gangu Badhei, Kanhu Majhi were humiliated by police.<sup>98</sup>

#### Picketting by Congressmen:

After such reign of terror in Srijang and outlying areas, the Congressmen started picketting in front of Excise shops and boycotted foreign cloth. It was rainy season. Generally Marwari communities imported cloth to Balasore. It was stopped. Owing to picketting, import of opium, Ganja, liquor<sup>99</sup> to Balasore was reduced considerably. The confirmed drunkards also understood the movement and became sympathetic to the Satyagrahis. The opium takers gave up opium and drug habits 'taddy' drinking too (prepared from the date trees)<sup>100</sup> The cutting of date trees campaign began in sea-shore areas. Approximately 7,000 date trees were cut down in the State of Orissa.<sup>101</sup>

#### Anti-Congress Attitude of Balasore Municipality in 1930:

The Balasore Municipality opposed the Civil Disobedience Movement just as it had earlier opposed the Non-cooperation Movement.

<sup>98</sup>No Tax Campaign, Appendix-C, p.11, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>99</sup>Summary Report on Picketting, Appendix-C, p.12, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>100</sup>C.D.Movement in Utkal, 25 Sept. 1930, p.15, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid.

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On 31 July 1930, under the presidentship of Bipin Bihari De, the Municipal Commissioner passed the following resolutions: "That the Commissioners of the Balasore Municipality assembled at this meeting today, emphatically abhor the Civil Disobedience Movement set on foot by the Congress party as it has already brought serious disasters on the peace-loving citizens throughout His Majesty's Indian empire and has become veritable menace to them".

"That they sincerely desire that the scandal be nipped in the bud at any cost and that they are ever ready to <sup>e</sup>hertily cooperate with the local authorities with a view to bring peace and harmony in the country and remove the present unrest".<sup>102</sup>

Those member Councillors included Bipin Bihari De, President, Raj Bahadur Manmatha Nath Dey, Chairman, Jadunath Ghosh, Vice-Chairman, Ralisahceb Prafulla Chandra Pattnaik, Civil Surgeon, Balasore, Rev. H.T.Frost, Haji Nasiruddin, Munshi Abdul Sattar Khan, Benode Bihari Kar, Gyanranjan Pattnaik, Charu Chandra Ray, V.A.J. Underwood, Radha Ranjan Das, Srinath Samanta Rao, Baikuntha Nath Das.

But while opposing the Congress movement, the municipality passed a resolution against the running of liquor shops at Balasore.

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<sup>102</sup>Proceedings of an Ordinary meeting of the Commissioners of Balasore Municipality held on Thursday 31st July, 1930 at 8.00A.M.

The resolution runs as follows: "considered letter No.463/E Dt. 18.10.30 from the Superintendent of Excise and Salt Balasore asking if there is any objection to the settlement of liquor shops within the municipal area. Rev. H.3. Forst, Seconded by Babu Charu Chandra Ray proposed that no liquor shop should be settled within the Municipal area. This was carried unanimously".

The member Councillors present included Rai Saheb Bipin Bohari De, President, Rai Bahadur Manmath Nath De, Chairman, Babu Jadunath Ghosh, Vice-Chairman, the Civil Surgeon, Balasore, Rev. H.J. Forst, Gyan Ranjan Patanaik, Charu Chandra Ray, Manoranjan Das, Moulavi Syed Abdul Jabbar, Balkuntha Nath Das, Srinath Samanta Rao, Munshi Sheik Taffayyul Hossain.<sup>103</sup>

#### Anti-Congress Measures by the Government:

The Government adopted all possible measures to curb and prevent the Congress movement. Khadi Store and Swaraj Ashram were searched at Balasore on 28 December 1930. Thereafter the Congress organisation at Balasore were declared 'Unlawful association'.<sup>104</sup>

Cyclostyled machine with important papers was seized in the Congress Ashram at Balasore. Palasir Abasame by Harekrushna Mahatab, Luna Mara Gita (Song on salt manufacture) published by Gopinath Press, Bhadrak, Bira Bidushi of Rama

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<sup>103</sup> Proceedings of an Ordinary meeting of Balasore Municipality held on Friday the 24th October 1930 at 8.00 A.M. Balasore Municipality was formed in 1876.

<sup>104</sup> Report of C.D. Movement in Utkal, 25 September, 1930, p.16, A.I.C.C. letters.

Prasad Singh, Ahwan (call to nation) by Kuntala Kumari Sabat inspired the people in the wake of such movement banned the fire of national patriotism. Some books like 'Palasir Abasane, Chasabhai Suka, Mausi were banned. Swarajya Pala by Nityananda Mohapatra has appreciated during this period.

Around 3000<sup>105</sup> Satyagrahis were sentenced to imprisonment for salt movement. Loss of property was beyond two lacs of rupees. In such a great awakening, farmers, common men emotionally participated rather than the educated mass.

Government started applying different methods<sup>106</sup> to curb the progress of Satyagrahis by a 'Campaign of false prosecution and terrorisation'. Nobody could give shelter to any Satyagrahi or else he would be prosecuted.

Police directed people not to give food to Congress workers lest they would be prosecuted. Police took advantage of Private disputes.<sup>107</sup> 'False cases of rioting and unlawful assembly are cooked up'. Six persons were sentenced to imprisonment for possessing, distributing and selling cyclostyled bulletins.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>105</sup>Who's Who, p.76.

<sup>106</sup>Report on C.D.Movement in Utkal, 25 September 1930, p.18, A.I.C.C. letters: A.C.C. 57, B.C.S. Anti-Propaganda file, 1930-31, p.32.

<sup>107</sup>Report on C.D.Movement in Utkal, 25 September 1930, p.18, A.I.C.C.letters.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

Anti Propaganda Move:

Publicity by the Government agency became active to counteract the Congress movement. Thus they applied different methods in different localities. Pamphlets were distributed. They made the school teachers their instruments. Instead of Government servants, non-officials were to be engaged for this work to motivate common people.<sup>109</sup>

From an order to Balasore Collector by Mr. M.G.Halley, Commissioner, it is found that leaflets and pamphlets were published to motivate people to support Government work. The leaflet bore such headings such as "Getting it across" "freedom" "Where do we stand", "The Congress Programme and excise", Civil Disobedience". The Subdivisional Officers were instructed to organise the work of 'Aman Sabha' in the villages, to create public opinion in Government favour. Excise leaflets were strictly distributed to excise dealers.<sup>110</sup> Government agency tried to reach its anti-Congress message near intelligentsia.

An anti-propaganda association by the Government namely; 'Balasore People Welfare Association' was formed under T.N. Mitra, the Deputy Collector. The members were instructed 'to keep eye and ear open to lessers, land-lords, leading tenants'.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>A.C.C.57, B.C.S. File-I, Page 27-47; A.C.C.58, I.V.C.C.

<sup>110</sup>B.C.S. Anti Propaganda File, 1931.

<sup>111</sup>A.C.C. 57, B.C.S. Anti Propaganda file, 1930-31, p.31.



The S.P. of Balasore S.K. Rob wrote to D.M. Balasore on 29.1.31 that the release of Mahatma Gandhi had affected tremendously the popular mind. Naturally again all Congress activities like 'illicit manufacture of Salt' was in full swing.

The Commissioner Orissa Division wrote to D.M., Balasore on 6th January 1931 to know whether more than Rs.1,000/- would be sent for the district for that year to quicken the anti-propaganda drive. He also enquired about the expenditure towards printing of 'Satyasanachar'.<sup>112</sup> The anti-propaganda officers had taken up Soro, Basta, Singla, Khaira, Simulia Zone for their places of activity.<sup>113</sup> In Bhadrak S.D.O. was in charge of anti-Congress propaganda work.<sup>114</sup>

One Gopal Ghosh, Sub-Deputy Collector was directed by the authorities to carry on anti-Congress propaganda at Remuna. The Collector instructed Ghosh to accompany Rai Saheeb Prafulla Chandra Patnaik to the market where he would influence people by peaceful persuasion.

In Bhadrak P.S., Basudebpur P.S., Chandbali P.S. remained. Rajkishore Garanaik, carried on anti-Congress propaganda. In Dhamnagar P.S. the Manager of Kothar Estate carried on propaganda on behalf of the Government.

<sup>112</sup>B.C.S. C.D. Move file No.2, 1930-31.

<sup>113</sup>B.C.S. File No.1, 1930-31.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

The loyal and anti-Congress Zamindars tried to dissuade the people from joining hands with Congressmen. When the officers held talk with the village people, the Zamindars accompanied them. They posed as if they were great benefactors of the people.

On 31 January in a meeting that was called in Balasore Circuit House, the D.M., Balasore praised all the anti-propaganda officers. These officers were honoured with Sanad, later on on 28th February 1931 for their loyalty to the British administration.

S.P. and D.M., Balasore went to Tundra and Inchudi and apprised the people of the demerit of salt Satyagraha and C.D.move. 200 persons gave an undertaking not to join such move. A propaganda meeting was called in Baliapal from the Government side. It was attended by businessmen and Zamindars. They assured the D.M. their help. In Bhadrak the merchants and traders gave assurance to Government all help. The District Officers were instructed to collect the speeches of Congress leaders.<sup>115</sup> A book written by M.G. Hallet named 'Is India Poorer' was given to officers to utilise it for their anti-Congress drive.

Attempts were made to check observance of any death anniversary of Congress leader on Flag Day<sup>116</sup> or Independence Day by Congressmen. Police could check the celebration of

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<sup>115</sup> A.C.C. 57, p.30, B.C.S. C.D. Move, File 1930-31.

<sup>116</sup> A.C.C.56, Balasore Collectorate Records Report, File, 1932, p.15.

death anniversary of Motilal Nehru by vigorous propaganda at Manikhamb and by the arrest of some leaders. Propaganda officers used to move in villages creating impressions in the people the bad effect of the revival of Civil Disobedience Movement when Balasore was suffering under economic stringency.

The Observance of Independence Day:

The Independence Day was celebrated on 26 January 1931. The Congress flags were unfurled in the morning on the S.D.O's Court, Municipal Office, Zilla School Building. They were brought down and destroyed. Mukunda Prasad Das himself hoisted the flag on his own building near the Balasore Railway Station.<sup>117</sup> A meeting took place in the evening that day. 150 males and 8 females attended. Ghanashyam Mohanty delivered speech and was sentenced to 4 months hard labour imprisonment. A leaflet 'Swadhinata Pratigyan' was distributed to counter it. Condolence was also observed in a meeting for the demise of Motilal Nehru.

The Congress Propaganda:

The Congressmen sought to win the people as well as Government servants to their cause through their propaganda. They issued some leaflets in which they tried to prevent people "to take part in execution of warrants for realisation of fines imposed on political prisoners". These leaflets were

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<sup>117</sup> A.C.C. 57, p.30., B.C.S.C.D. Move, File 1930-31.

seized by the police.

Appeals were made to the Government officials to resign from services and join the Congress movement. A letter under the Caption 'Take Care' was despatched to the Government official to forsake their jobs for the sake of nation. The letter runs as follows:<sup>118</sup>

Respected Sir,

"At this critical point of the country lots of Simple Villagers entering jail will laugh on their lips whereas you donot wish or set apart minute to think for your motherland. You are a learned man. You can understand the good and evil of not joining this India wide move." Instead of that you are opposing Civil resisters inhumanly. You are warned seriously.

Take a piece of paper and at once write on application resigning your post, otherwise you will have to face consequence very soon".

Lithographed letters, printed materials from "Revolution Bulletin Press" signed by Subhedra Mahtab were being distributed.

Again another form of approach began to urge the farmers and common men not to help the British Government financially.

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<sup>118</sup> A.C.C.57., B.C.S. File No.3, 1931, p.25.

Call of Ranaveri:

"Bande Matram

Warning to Kisans

Beware

Beware

Let not the villagers pay war tax to the hypocritical Britishers. In every village 'Young volunteer crops should be formed. Remove Fear from the country. Don't be afraid at all of people with red pagarees (Bheri)".<sup>119</sup>

A hand bill with heading 'Second batallion of the Salt Satyagraha ' was distributed by Gajendra Narayan Das who was accompanied by 4 Satyagrahis and marched to Inchudi Chatan field. 10 members of the family of Bhagabat Prasad Mohapatra, joined Satyagraha.<sup>120</sup>

Surendra Nath Das of Bhimpur, Balasore was arrested for the second time under Section 17 as he collected money for Congress work and incited the people to restart Salt Satyagraha just after he was released from jail.<sup>121</sup> Golak Nath Das an advocate had absconded and was distributing Congress leaflets. He had "moved the matter to Hon'ble High Court to prosecute him under the legal practitioners act".<sup>122</sup> Both S.N. Das and G. Das used to persuade the people to take part again in the salt campaign just after the harvest.

<sup>119</sup> A.C.C.56, p.9.

<sup>120</sup> A.C.C.57, B.C.S. Confidential Fortnightly Report, 1931, p.29.

<sup>121</sup> A.C.C.57, B.C.S. File No.3, 1931, p.25.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

People were persuaded in Sartha area by Congress workers not to pay additional police tax.<sup>123</sup> Golak Nath De was very secretly making collection for funds for Oriya labourers.

Congress became more active. Besides the training camp organised by Gandhi Karma Mandir at Balasore, Congress aimed at Swaraj and Social reformation. Spinning of thread, spread of female education, remarriage of widows became the day to day work of Congress volunteers.<sup>124</sup>

Satyagrahis now guided the D.C.C. It went ahead with establishment of Panchayats, establishment of Congress Offices in villages, collection of subscriptions.<sup>125</sup> The Congress became more active after the settlement between Gandhiji and Viceroy. As a consequence, Government no more collected Punitive Tax. Peaceful picketting in front of liquor shop and foreign cloth stores continued.

#### Under-ground Movement:

Because of severe repression by the Government, some Congressmen carried on underground movement. After the arrests of Congress workers in Congress Office, Surendra Nath Das made Farasidinga, a French enclave, situated on the bank of river Barabalang at the outskirts of Balasore town the field of his

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<sup>123</sup>A.C.C.57, B.C.S. File No.3, 1931, p.25.

<sup>124</sup>D.M. to Commissioner, File No.87, 1931 (Confidential) pp. 229-231.

<sup>125</sup>D.M. to Commissioner, File No.87, 1931, pp.182-184.

activities. British had no control over this area. It was under the French Government and the British administration did not have jurisdiction over it. Surendra Nath Das continued the Salt Movement at Inchudi giving direction from French Balasore secretly.

Nilambar Das carried on underground movement in Langaleswar. He said the movement started from grassroot level. He hid himself in Hasinpur Bamboo forest. Volunteers were trained for Congress work at French Balasore under the guidance of S.N. Das. He used to send batches of Satyagrahis to different places for Satyagraha along with required amount of money. Surendra Nath Das used to convey message and send Satyagrahis by ferry boats to different places on the bank of Burabalang river. Police arrested men, women, 'Banarsena' (Monkey brigade) in Mahapada of Basta thana, Balasore and other places. Later on Nilambar Das was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. The Commissioner of Orissa instructed the Collector to catch Surendra Nath Das when he comes out of French enclave. The Commissioner in his letter to the D.M., Balasore had directed to watch the people coming out of French enclave and catch them redhanded<sup>126</sup> when they enter British region.

Supplies were checked from outside the French enclave. Hence it became difficult for the Congress workers to stay inside the French territory for a long period without supplies.

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<sup>126</sup> B.C.C.58, B.C.S. Fortnightly Report File, 1932.

When the French administrator visited French Balasore the district authority drew their attention to such underground work by Congress people of Balasore. The French authority refused to take any action against the Congress people in their territory unless the Congress workers broke French Laws (1932). Simple warning was given to Fak Sahu by French authority in 1932 who had lent a house to Congress workers in their area.<sup>127</sup> The district authority had filed a number of cases against him.<sup>128</sup> Leaflets were coming out of French Balasore with the signature of Gour Mohan Das and was being distributed in the town to hold meetings, processions and continue the movement.

In Bhogarai the tenants refused payment of rent to Zamindars as because the Zamindars did not 'remit the interest on arrear rents'.<sup>129</sup> Here most of the teachers were being influenced by Debendra Nath Giri<sup>130</sup> the Zamindar of the area to work for Congress movement. He was Vice-Chairman of the District Board. As a result of which relation with the movement he was not allowed to use his gun by the British authority.<sup>131</sup> But in Jamkunda (Baliapal) the Zamindar was loyal to Government. Several leaders of Baliapal were also tried in 1932.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> A.C.C.56, B.C. Records, Fortnightly Confidential Report, 1932, p.17.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> A.C.C.58, B.C.S. Fortnightly File, 1932.

<sup>130</sup> A.C.C.56, Balasore Collectorate Records Fortnightly File, 1932, p.16.

<sup>131</sup> Interview with the son of the Zamindar Debendra Nath Giri, Dr. Bijay Giri on 10.7.87.

<sup>132</sup> A.C.C.56, p.11.



"War Cry (Rana Bheri) a cyclostyled booklet<sup>133</sup> was circulated from French Balasore. It dealt with the Congress activities in Balasore town and urged upon people to join Civil Disobedience move. The Bhimpur Ashram was kept under Ordinance. The volunteers wanted to break the law and enter into it but were captured.

Attempts were made by Bhadrak High School to hoist National Flag at Bhadrak Mansiff's Court. On 29th March, these objectionable leaflets were distributed inside the Court and prayer was made to the Zamindars not to pay arrears. About 10 volunteers in this regard had been arrested and two students were restituted.<sup>134</sup> This shocked Mahatab and other leaders very much. Another boy was fined by the Managing Committee. Those who took part in it were below 15 years. They were prosecuted under Section 447 I.P.C. with whipping too.

According to Collectors Confidential report 1038 persons in the district were prosecuted for C.D.move.<sup>135</sup> The Collector in his 23rd August 1932 report mentions that while Subhadra Mahatab wife of H.K. Mahatab, some females and volunteers were supplying food to Congress workers in French enclave were arrested. The younger brother of Harekrushna Mahatab was arrested under the pretext of his observing 'Flag Day' at Bhadrak. In 1932 a political prisoner of Bhimpur died in Balasore jail due to attack of Malaria.

<sup>133</sup> A.C.C.56, 23rd July, 1932.

<sup>134</sup> A.C.C.56, Balasore Collectorate Records Fortnightly File, 1932.

<sup>135</sup> A.C.C.56, B.C.S. Fortnightly Report File, 1932.

Fines were imposed on Women Volunteers. Later on also women volunteers were imprisoned. 70 women with babies came in a procession to the town under the leadership of Kokila Devi.<sup>136</sup> Some were arrested. Still others did not shock. For them authority brought Christian and Santal (Scheduled Tribe) females who would remove them from the road. A secret post office worked in Manikhamb for which a gentleman was punished. He used to bring and despatch the Congress news. Police seized some unauthorised papers. Police was heckled at Manikhamb.<sup>137</sup> Thereafter a group of boys brought out a procession in Balasore with national flags and placards. They were called 'Banar Sena' (Monkey Brigade).

The biggest demonstration was on the 18th December at Balasore when two Sankirtan parties moved about in the town and a well attended meeting was held in the town hall where high caste Hindus attempted to do the work of the sweepers as an encouragement to the untouchables".<sup>138</sup> Even Banar Sena protested against Gandhi's arrest. Nanda Kishore Das, President District Congress Committee, Balasore and the Director of War Council was sent to jail.

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<sup>136</sup>. A.C.C. 56, p.18; Sadhanan Pathe p.151.  
<sup>137</sup> A.C.C. 56, Balasore Records Fortnightly Confidential Report, 1932, p.18,.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

Congress suggested to adopt the following ways for disobedience:

1. Meetings or conversations, house to house visits and shoutings of Boycott Slogans,
2. Preparation of Boycott leaflets, booklets in local language,
3. Reading and explaining of Boycott literature to illiterate men and women,
4. Pictures and stencils of short boycott slogans on Boycott British goods.

Slogans were written on walls and in small tickets "Boycott British machinery", "Boycott British Petrol" "Boycott British soap", "Boycott Foreign Cloth".

The tickets would be distributed from windows, Railway platforms, tops of buses, trains also in fairs, festivals, processions, schools, courts and colleges. <sup>139</sup>

Educational Authority's Policy towards Pre-Congress Teachers:

The educational authority of the district in its report admitted that school teachers were taking part in the C.D. movement. Some teachers left the school without prior intimation. Nilambar Das was instigating the teachers to leave their work and join the Congress work. The authorities transferred the teachers found involved. Guardians were given an undertaking

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<sup>139</sup> Boycott Campaign, 1932, A.I.C.C. letters.

not to allow their children to join C.D. Move. The members of the Managing Committee hereafter could not take part in Congress work lest they could quit their membership. Convicted teachers would not be re-appointed. Names of the boys would be struck off if found joining such Congress Movement.<sup>140</sup>

Attachment of Pro-Congressmen's Properties:

In 1932, Government attached properties of the following persons because of their involvement in C.D. Movement. This did not take place in other districts of Orissa. They were:-<sup>141</sup>

1. Srinath Raju of Jankunda,
2. Srimati Trimani Devi of Balasore,
3. Sarat Chandra Sahoo of Chhada,
4. Nimachand Behera,
5. Adikanda Pati of Bammunia,
6. Rama Devi of Simulia,
7. Gunai Basan of Bhograi,
8. Baidhar Ponda of Baliapal,
9. Ganeswar Biswal of Jagai,
10. Srinath Acharjya of Bhograi.<sup>142</sup>

Government's Repression:

All money orders to Congress leaders or letters from Congress leaders to outside were "intercepted according to the instruction of Director of Post and Telegraphs of 30th March 1932".<sup>143</sup>

<sup>140</sup> B.C.S. C.F. 1932

<sup>141</sup> Report of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, 1932, p.33, A.I.C.C. letters.  
<sup>142</sup> Report of the U.P.C.C. 1932. P.33 A.I.C.C. letters.

<sup>143</sup> B.C.S. Confidential Section File, 1932, A.C.C.57.

In a case of Ananta, Kumbhara (who prepares earthen pots) by caste of French Balasore who came to Balasore for remission of rent because some persons of Manikhamb in Balasore town had refused to take from him pots for which usually they contracted with him. The Collector instructed the police to take action against the persons of Manikhamb and helped him to remit the cost of civil suit.

The Collector also wanted to file some civilians against some tenants to frighten them and dissuade them from joining in non-payment of tax invited by Congress workers. The police became more vigilant in some places such as Bhimpur the birth place of Surendra Nath Das, Singla Baliapal, Bhograi, Ramuna.

#### Harijan Movement:

During the Civil Disobedience Movement, Mahatma Gandhi started his anti-untouchability movement (popularly known as Harijan Movement) towards the end of 1932. The Congress leaders of Balasore such as Harekrushna Mahtab and Nanda Kishore Das took keen interest in the uplift of the untouchables.

Mahtab opened his Agarpara family temple for the untouchables and even allowed the Harijans to touch the deities. In consequence, the orthodox Hindus cut off relations with his family.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> B.C.S. Fortnightly Report File, 1932; Sadhanar Patra, p.154.

Nilambar Das allowed the Harijans to work at his home. In Bont P.S. a night school was opened to teach the people of depressed classes. Afterwards, Nilambar Das worked for Harijans in Khaire and Basta (This he disclosed in his interview). He started teaching them, worked with them in different social fields. He never minded access of Harijans at his home. On 9 May 1934, Mahatma Gandhi began his foot march from Puri to promote the uplift of the untouchables. On this occasion, Congress leaders like Harekrushna Mahtab, Nanda Kishore Das, Karunakar Panigrahi and others met Gandhi at Virharekrushnapur.

Gandhi carried on his foot march from Puri to Bhadrak. On 6 June 1934 he reached Manjuri near Bhadrak where Mukunda Prasad Das of Balasore received him with warm ovation. Gandhi passed through the villages of Bhandari Pokhari, Barikpur, Todagan, Garadpur and reached Bhadrak on 7 June. Meetings were organised where he addressed huge gatherings. People were moved. They collected funds for him. Harekrushna Mahtab was busy for Gandhi's tour in Balasore. Gandhiji was to halt at Baradeswar in the temple premises but the venue was changed on protest of local upper class people. So Gandhi stayed at Mahatab's Cutchery house at Todanga. Use of wells was allowed here to Harijans.

At Garadpur Ashrams, no public meeting could be organised as it was not permitted by the Superintendent of Police Balasore. People saw Gandhi batch by batch inside it. Jivramji Kalyanji Kothari of Kutch choose this place as his field of activity for his whole life. His wife and another lady Puru Bai by name joined him. Next day Gandhiji stayed in Mahatab's new house at Bhadrak.<sup>145</sup> Here he spent his time dealing with Harijan movement, flood relief and spinning wheel. Here he told people thus "those who took part in the pilgrimage on foot should learn that real work lies in the village. The vast mass of Harijans live there. Untouchability has its strongest roots in the villages". Mahatab and his wife Subhadra Mahatab were always busy taking care of Gandhiji and his followers and extended cooperation to Harijans, doing Khadi work.

Gandhiji left Bhadrak on 7 June 1934 for Balasore in train as his march on foot was stopped by heavy rain. He was requested to speak to the people in every station. Collections were made in all stations. When the train halted at Balasore station, people in large numbers saw him. The train was detained for about an hour. Gandhi was given Rs.2,500/-. Gujarati people of Balasore donated Rs.91/-. Congress volunteers accompanied with him in train till Kharagpur.<sup>146</sup>

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*Mahatab* <sup>145</sup>Sadhanar Pathe, pp.163-164.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., p.164.

This short but memorable association with Gandhiji left an indelible impression on the minds of Congress workers of Balasore about Bapu (Gandhiji). They were inspired so much that they started opening Ashrams in villages. Gandhi Karma Mandir in Mahatab's village expedited the movement. A Kayastha excise S.I. married to a Harijan Girl. Mahatab attended it. Gradually movement took shape. One Basudev Das opened one Harijan school in Palasahi on 15th August 1941. Many temples were opened to untouchables in Balasore and meetings were held in many places of the district to remove untouchability from the society.

In the year 1923, people who could pay Rs.500/- as revenue tax were eligible to exercise their franchise. Around 50 persons, the so called microscopic minority had boasting of such privilege. The table turned in 1935. The scope became wider. People paying Rs.2/- as revenue tax and 6 annas as chowkidari tax got the scope to cast their votes. This amendment extended a rare opportunity to millionaires in those pre-independence days.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Mahatab, Sadhanar Pathe, pp.185-186.



**Praja Mandal Movement in Nilgiri, 1938:**

Praja Mandal or People's Associations were formed in the Tributary States of Orissa in 1937-38. The Associations fought to secure democratic rights to the States' people. The rulers turned deaf ears to the people's demands. As the people's demands were ignored by the rulers, they turned rebellious. In 1938, unrest began first in Nilgiri which is at the outskirts of Balasore. Kailash Chandra Mohanty and Banamali Das<sup>148</sup> (present Socialist leaders) championed the cause of the people. The ruler of Nilgiri tried to suppress the people by various means. People were tortured, fined and sentenced to imprisonment.

At this stage, the Congress Party took up the cause of the States people. The Orissa Congress constituted a States enquiry committee under the chairmanship of H.K. Mahtab to hear the states people's grievances. Consequently the Praja Mandal movement became a part of freedom movement. People of Nilgiri wanted their own democratic and civil rights as well as country's freedom from foreign rule. Volunteers of Praja Mandal movement had joined the Congress movement.

Harekrushna Mahatab, the key man of Congress movement in Balasore and Chairman of the State People's Enquiry Committee tried to solve the dispute between the Raja of Nilgiri and his subjects through negotiation. Finally the ruler came to terms

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<sup>148</sup> Interview with Sri Banamali Das on 4.2.86.

with his subjects and conceded the following rights to them:<sup>149</sup>

1. The Praja Mandal was recognised by the Raja,
2. The people got the right to hold meetings and hold processions,
3. Some rules and regulations were introduced in supersession of Raja's arbitrary rule,
4. The interest on outstanding rents were reduced,
5. The people secured some rights to collect some of their required articles from jungles,
6. Supply of Rasad (free food) to Government Officers on tour was stopped,
7. The Raja would not interfere in social affairs,
8. Except elephants all other animals, causing harms to crops could be killed by the subjects,
9. Forced labour was abolished,
10. Magan (special contribution on special occasions) was abolished.<sup>150</sup>

#### Netaji in Balasore:

Netaji Subash Bose came to Balasore in 1939. A meeting in his honour was arranged in Balasore Town Hall open pendal on 10.8.39. He came and stayed in P.W.D. Dak Bunglow near Railway station. It was one day visit to Balasore.<sup>151</sup> In his

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<sup>149</sup> Prajatantra, 5th November, 1947 ; Beginning of the End, p.29.

<sup>150</sup> Smaraki, Nilagiri Praja Andolan and Garjat Misren Gokulananda Nayak, p.15.

<sup>151</sup> Souvenir 19th Annual Conference, Congress Centenary Celebration, 1985; Interview with Raj Narayan Giri (86 years) Dr. Bijay Giri (nephew) on 7.2.87; Interview with Priyanath Sarkar on 23.3.86.

speech which he delivered in Hindi, he invoked people to oust the British from Indian soil. He who had severed relation with Congress formed a Forward Block, a Front in the country to fight out the Britishers from India. In Balasore those accompanied him for such campaign were Radhamohan Rana of Ramna, Debendra Nath Giri, who was a fire brand and colleague of Subhas Bose in Presidency College, Calcutta. They enrolled 7,000/8,000 members for such front.

Netaji visited Balasore twice. Priyanath Sarkar an octogenarian who quitted his Chairmanship of Balasore Municipality in 1939 also disclosed that he was influenced by the charismatic personality of Netaji.

#### Individual Satyagraha:

All India Congress Committee in its meeting in Bombay in September 1940 decided to start individual Civil Disobedience,<sup>152</sup> against the British policy in war, as a mark of protest against England's apathetic attitude to Indian's hopes.

The individual Satyagrahi would declare "This war is imperialistic. It will be inimical to help it by money, men and mentally". They uttered this much and courted arrest. Vinoba Bhave was the first freedom fighter in India who inaugurated this individual Satyagraha. In Balasore Sardar Surendra Nath Das, Kailash Chandra Mohanty, Karunakar Panigrahi courted arrest being influenced by Bhave.

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<sup>152</sup> Satyagraha, Collected works of Gandhi, p.516; Nanda Kishore Das, Mo Jiban Janial, p.129; Interview with Laxman Kamila and Rabindra Mohan Das.

### Muslims Participation in Congress:

Moulovi Athor, President of the Jamaitul Ulema Outtack came to address Muslims at Bhadrak. The Annual Session of Muslim League was held at Balasore on 5.5.40. Moulana Sayeed Abdulla Alkadri Surawardy presided over the meeting. Simultaneously Congress Muhammadans at Bhadrak passed a resolution against the Muslim League.

Local league members disliked the entrance of Congress people into Mosque. But Md. Hanif delivered speeches against Muslim league.<sup>153</sup> A meeting was held in Remuna mosque where leaflet was roadout and distributed relating to the treachery against Arabs. League supported British Victory. Muslim league volunteers were arrested as they were clad with red shirt and armed with lathis under defence of India Act (29 December 1940) In 1941 Surendra Nath Das tried his best for Hindu Muslim unity. Gokulananda Mohanty a prominent Congress member tried to start Azad Muslim Party in Balasore District.<sup>154</sup> Differences between Hindus and Muslims in Agarpada (residence of Harekrushna Mahtab) was solved.<sup>155</sup>

### Anti British Move:

One Natu Satpathy<sup>156</sup> had been arrested and convicted under O.I.R. as he was distributing the leaflet 'Ranabhorl' in Jaleswar market. The text of the leaflet was 'Let not the villages pay war tax to the hypocritic Britishers. Let them

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<sup>153</sup> B.C.S. Report File, 1940.

<sup>154</sup> B.C.S. Police Report File of 1941; Interview with L. Kamila of Remuna.

<sup>155</sup> B.C.S. Report File, 1940.

<sup>156</sup> B.C.S. Fortnightly Report, 1940.

devise means to drive out white man from India. In every village, Youth volunteer corps should be formed. Remove fear from the country. Don't be afraid at all of people with 'red pagarees',<sup>157</sup> used by police. A.I.C.C. issued some circulars regarding compulsory levies for the war by the Government and Congress readiness for struggle. These were translated and distributed in Balasore.

#### Relief:

As Balasore suffered from flood, Harekrushna Mahtab, Gour Mohan Das, Acharya Harihar Dash, Laxminarayan Sahoo visited the affected areas and distributed relief. A.V.Thaker of servant of India Society had come down to Bhadrak. Manjula Devi and Sarala Devi came to Bhandari Pokhari P.S. to provide work to the people.<sup>158</sup>

#### Satyagraha Campaign:

Translation of Gandhiji's speeches to use Khaddar were distributed. A drama was staged in Dhamanagar wherefrom Rs.1,500/- was collected. A Khaddi march began from Soro to Jajpur on the 10th November 1940. Nilambar Das with a group of 6 Congressmen walked 5 miles a day. On the way they used to demonstrate spinning before the village people.<sup>159</sup>

Later on Harekrushna Mahatab spoke in a meeting in Remuna on 1.12.40<sup>160</sup> that people should not help the British in war by men, money and exhorted the people for non-violent

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<sup>157</sup> A.C.C.59, B.C.S. Report File 1948.

<sup>158</sup> Sadhanar Pathe, p.210.

<sup>159</sup> Interview with Nilambar Das.

<sup>160</sup> Sadhanar Pathe, p.213.

resistance. He was arrested for violating laws and was sent to Ahmadnagar fort jail. Jagannath Das was arrested at Bhadrak on 4.12.40 and was sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. Satyagrahi Surendra Nath Das, Secretary Balasore District Congress Committee courted arrest at Deula hat (market) on 5.12.40. He was sentenced <sup>1</sup> months imprisonment. He was speaking on untouchability. Kailash Chandra Mohanty while delivering a speech at Ambodiha hat (market) near Sargarh in Balasore was arrested and was sentenced to 6 months rigorous imprisonment.

In 1941 Harekrushna Mahatab was in jail. But work in Agarpara was going on well. Rabindra Mohan Das<sup>161</sup> and Sachi Routray used to inform him secretly about the Congress activities in the district. They were also preparing a list of 3rd batch of Satyagrahis. Maralidhar Jena and Rabindra Mohan Das toured different places near and at Bhadrak to hold Satyagraha meetings. Gour Mohan Das was to stage Satyagraha in different dates from January to February in 1941.

Laxmidhar Sanibigraha who started Satyagraha at Barikpur (Bhadrak) was arrested for anti-war slogans and was sentenced to 6 months simple imprisonment. Satyagrahis like Kamalakanta Kar (Sankaru) hear Eram and Gour Mohan Das were arrested at Bhadrak.<sup>162</sup> These Satyagrahis shouted loudly

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<sup>161</sup> A.C.C.57, B.C.S. Police Report File of 1941, p.54.

<sup>162</sup> A.C.C.57, B.C.S. Police Report File of 1941, p.54.

anti-war slogans. Karunakar Panigrahi was making anti-war propaganda in Bhograi and other places of North Balasore.<sup>163</sup>

Quit India Revolt:

The All India Congress Committee which met in Bombay in August 1942 under the presidency of Abul Kalam Azad, demanded provisional set up of Government.

Gandhiji said: " We can no longer hold back our people from exercising their will. Nor can we go on eternally submitting to the imperialist policy. The time has come for the English to go. Civil servants, army officers, Government officers all of them should quit India". The quit India resolution was moved by Jawaharlal Nehru seconded by Sardar Patel. It was adopted.

Gandhi said: "the Congress has pledged herself that she will do or die". The resolution declared mass struggles. It received hearty response.

In 1942 Balasore District was in a revolutionary mood. Congress workers here prepared to stage Civil Disobedience Movement in the district. The agitators moved to nook and corner of the district and provoked people to disobey Government laws. Strikes were launched, schools and market were closed. Picketing was taken up as a measure of such movement. Mob in many places set fire to Post Offices, Dak Bungalows, Police Stations. Police were gherawed. Telegraph lines were cut off. People evaded payment of taxes. The student agitators distributed a leaflet with 15 point demands.

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<sup>163</sup> A.C.C.57, B.C.S. Police Report File of 1941, p.54.

1. To plunder Salt stocks (stock),
2. To obstruct Government servants by not giving them any information,
3. No domestic workers should work under them,
4. Not to supply any boat, motor or other conveyance,
5. To compel merchants not to supply any food-stuffs to Government servants,
6. To close schools and Colleges,
7. To induce government servants to resign their jobs,
8. To stop communication,
9. To observe hartal in factories and mills,
10. To cut the telegraph lines to stop communication, of the postal papers and messages and to break and loot the post boxes,
11. To keep food-stuffs in villages to form Swaraj Panchayat,
12. To stop payment of assessment or taxes,
13. To break the law by mass Civil Disobedience,
14. To break the forest laws, and
15. To persuade the Government servants to demand more pay and wages.<sup>164</sup>

Sardar Surendra Nath Das, Karunakar Panigrahi, Rabindra Mohan Das left rank and file in Congress and became ordinary workers.

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<sup>164</sup> History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol. IV, p.94.



Some printed brochures with the caption of 'Congress bulletin and True news' came out. People read the news of disobedience, steps of movement, incidents and places and persons. This was August Revolution.

#### Soro:

In Soro the students entered into the Sub-Registrar Office and tore up the Government documents. They were sentenced to R.I. for 15 months. Students strike continued in Balasore, Bhadrak, Chandbali. 30 students of Chandbali M.E. School left the school and launched a strike. All the students followed Brahmaananda Mohanty in a procession. 7 students were detained under D.I.R.<sup>165</sup>

#### Bhandari Pokhari:

On 17 August 1942, four to five thousand people armed with lathies etc. assembled at Bhandari Pokhari village to hold a protest meeting. The Balasore authority sent a Deputy Magistrate to study the situation. The huge crowd gradually marched towards the Police Station.<sup>166</sup> Police constables who were on guard checked this mob. The mob started destroying the furniture of the office. Police personnel fled away to save themselves. The mob then set fire on the Police Station. A Sub-Inspector had to give up his uniforms at the order of

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<sup>165</sup> A.C.C. 57, B.C.S. Firing Incident File of 1942, pp. 49-50.

<sup>166</sup> N.K. Das, Mo Jibana Janiala, p. 133.

the mob. Post Office was also burnt. Immediately, the District Magistrate rushed to the spot with a band of police force. But the bridge to Bhandari Pokhari was destroyed by the mob to prevent the police from reaching the place. Telegraph lines were cut off. Jadunath Das, M.L.A., Baishnav Charan Nayak, Dwarikanath Das who were leading such mob were arrested. Punitive fine of Rs.6,000/- was imposed on 12 surrounding villages and they were sent to jail.<sup>167</sup>

In 1942, when all Congress leaders were in jail, Surendra Nath Dwivedy worked from underground. His two bulletins 'Congress Varta' and 'Satya Sambad' were circulated by Gour Mohan Das of Balasore.

Dhamanagar Firing (Jania):

It was around August 1942. There were five Unions comprising 100 villages in Dhamanagar area. A significant character of this period was the growth of parallel provisional government by people with complete executive, legislative and judiciary set up. The area was bounded by Cuttack in the east, Bhadrak in the north, Chandabali in the south, Bhandari Pokhari in the west. This area was declared as Independent Dhusuri' area. People who controlled the area maintained jail, Kutcheri (Collectorate), Courts. They collected revenue, fined people for mistakes and offences. The leader was Murali Panda.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> D.O.No.1159C of 29.8.42, D.M. to Chief Secretary.

<sup>168</sup> Interview with Sri Murali Panda on 2.3.86.

People boycotted Government Courts, Office, Kuteheri. Muralidhar Jena, Judhisthir Nayak and Rajanikanta were organisers. From the letter of Balasore Collector to the Chief Secretary dated 23rd September 1942, it is known that Dhamanagar Police Station area was beyond police control. The uniforms of Chowkidars, accounts papers were burnt by the agitators of freedom movement. It added that there was loot and plunder of paddy and property of the Mahajans of the area.<sup>169</sup> Police arrested Jagannath Das and Dwarika Nath Das. The area became sensitive and the situation turned tense. In this area Congress had already started its organisations. Anirudha Mohanty,<sup>170</sup> Sagar Bhuyan were the revolutionaries. The police marched to the disturbed areas. It was called the 'Flag March'. S.P., G.C. Fox equipped with armed police, forced Murali Panda and the mob to disperse. The slogan was 'no more Chimur'.<sup>171</sup> 'Bande Matram' 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Joy'. In 'Chimur' Indian Police fired at S.P. for S.P. killed an innocent Satyagrahi.<sup>172</sup>

Dhamanagar Police Station was in turmoil. Orders were issued by Police to arrest Muralidhar Panda who was held responsible for this disturbance. Police had information that Muralidhar Panda was looting paddy and burning Chowkidars

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<sup>169</sup> A.C.C. No.62.

<sup>170</sup> A.C.C.57, p.51.

<sup>171</sup> Balaram Mohanty, August Biplab, p.67.

<sup>172</sup> Interview with Sri M. Panda on 2.3.86.

uniforms in Sriganga village. On 22nd September morning, S.I. of Police had 12 armed constables and two Havildars with him. Further 2 regular constables, 12 Chowkidars, a Dafadar joined him. They all proceeded towards Sriganga near Kapali river.

It was rainy season. Then police force after passing Sriganga came to a burial ground now called Sahid Nagar had marched towards Lunia Katsahi a village 1 kilometre from present Sahidnagar. Villagers of nearby places became alarmed. At this time people blew the conchshells.<sup>173</sup> Around 3,000 came thronging from Lunia Katsahi. From a Government report<sup>174</sup> we know that the S.I. had wanted truce with the crowd. The S.I. was at a distance of 20 to 30 yards from the crowd. The report runs that S.I. was attacked on the head by the mob. Syed Golam Usman a constable was with him. Muralidhar Panda (an anarchist in his thirties) while showing the author the place on 2.3.86, where the police team was marching said it was a narrow pavement in between two corn fields used by pedestrians. The uniforms snatched away by the mob was given back. But just after some moments when the police came back again to the burial ground which was a big plain area, started an onslaught. The mob had an altercation and also scuffle with the police. The mob was at a distance. "35 rounds were fired

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<sup>173</sup> A.C.C. 62 ; Interview with Sri Panda.

<sup>174</sup> A.C.C.62, Letter from Collector, Balasore to the Chief Secretary, Government of Orissa, 23rd September, 1942.

in all". The firing took place at 8.30 A.M. on 22nd September. The Government report runs that "when the position became desperate they opened fire. Many were wounded due to back-shots". Generally backshots were issued for sentry duty told Mr. Panda. 10 to 11 persons fell down on the spot. The mob dispersed. The police force left the place. "Rs.2,225/- was levied on the persons of Katsahi firing".<sup>175</sup>

It was 2.00 P.M. 5 dead bodies with 6 wounded were carried to a place in front of Goddess of Lunia Katsahi village. From there the dead bodies were carried on a rally through Susua, Anapal, Haripur, Garadpur villages with slogans for martyrs and freedom of the nation and reached Salandi river bank at 4.00 P.M. From there police allowed only 10 persons to cross the river by a boat at one time to Bhadrak side (opposite side of the river).

The leader Muralidhar Panda was arrested on his arrival at Bhadrak and sent to jail. Seventy wounded persons were taken to Bhadrak hospital. The names of those martyrs according to Murali Panda included : Nidhi Mahalik of Rajmukundapur of Bhadrak, Krushna Mahalik of Rajuli, Shyama Mahalik of Rajuli, Gour Jena of Susna Bhadrak, Agani Sahoo, Lunia Dhamanagar, Sankar Behera, Katsahi, Chintamani Das, Katsahi, Gopinath Jena of Katsahi, Naba Kumar Nayak of Kasindapur, Bhadrak.

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<sup>175</sup> A.C.C.57, B.C.S. Fortnightly File of 1942.

**Khaira:**

From a report of the Collector, Balasore to the Chief Secretary we know that some people insulted one S.I. in Tudigadia market and snatched away his hat. As a result, the Inspector of Police reached there on 24 September, 1942 with a party of policemen at Khairadhi.<sup>176</sup> At the sight of the police, 300 to 400 people blew conchshells. Immediately, a mob equipped with lathis rushed to the spot. An exchange of words began between the two sides. When the Inspector wanted to arrest the real culprit from the mob, he was prevented. The Inspector declared the gathering as unlawful. He commanded the people to disperse. At that time the mob was at a distance of 75 yards from the police. The crowd began to gherao the police. Then the Inspector ordered shooting. Then Sergeant Major directed four rounds fire. But nobody was hurt. Again keeping a distance of 15 yards, he ordered 5 rounds firing. None was injured.

Emergency force came from Cuttack to Khaira. The next morning S.I. and the Inspector went to arrest the accused. People blew conchshell. The police searched the house of Puria Naik at Panisiali. The force proceeded to Khairadhi and arrested some of the accused. Police demanded Baidyanath Rout. His house was broken open. He could not be found. While they were searching his house some one from outside set fire

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<sup>176</sup> Confidential letter of Collector, Balasore to Chief Secretary Government of Orissa, 25th September 1942.

to it.<sup>177</sup> There were three routes to the place. Those were Dantur, Dalang and Chattrra (Soro). Police saw a group of men armed with lathis, country weapons such as bows, arrows, katuris, when they came close to police, the latter opened fire. Two persons from the mob were hit and fell down on the spot. Another became injured. The mob fell back. But in spite of several attempts the leader could not be traced. That day again at 3.00 P.M. hundreds came and surrounded at Tudigadia to take away those dead bodies. 19 persons were arrested.

#### Balasore:

In Balasore 17 boys entered into the Court of Natabar Sahu, Deputy Magistrate on 28.9.42 and garlanded him. Then they asked him to resign. Just after that they went to the S.D.O. and repeated in same manner. They were sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. In some places of Balasore attempts were made by agitators to destroy the Post Office. Police arrested more than 8 persons in this connection.<sup>178</sup>

Teachers of district Board school and some Doctors also helped the Congress activity. 5,000 people marched to Balasore from Remuna but were dispersed in front of the Mission School. 15 were caught redhanded and others retreated. Balasore Congress office was then under the police control.

<sup>177</sup> A.C.C.57, B.C.S. Firing Incident File of 1942, pp.49-50.

<sup>178</sup> History of Freedom Movement in Orissa, Vol.5, Interview with Trilochan Senapati on 6.3.86.

People thought it would be their real Congress movement to make their citadel free from the clutches of police. This incident took place on 15th September.

#### Gurpal:

People of Gurpal area of Balasore established a so-called National Government in September 1942. The members of such Government in its meeting urged to paralyse the Government machinery. Their aim was to stop payment of taxes, not to extend any assistance or help to police and compel the village police to resign. The people tried to solve their civil and criminal matter in their own Panchayats.

#### Kram-Social and Political Conditions:

Kram is 50 kilometres from Balasore which became sensitive in 1942 August Movement.

The conditions prevailing before 1942 that incited people to stage a revolt needs explanation social and political conditions of Kram was controlled by big Zaminders and Administrative Authority. They were most hostile to the population. People had no right for their funeral ceremony without the permission of the Administrative authority. One could use 'torch light' half covered in its face. No cracker could blast. No one could use ferry in river.

Voting system was peculiar in those days. Those who paid more revenue or Chowkidari tax were eligible to vote. Middle class people had no such right. One or more Chowkidar was appointed according to population strength and area.



A union was the outcome of some villages. Some Unions made a thana. Dafadar controlled the Choukidar. The Choukidars were administered by a President.<sup>179</sup> Usually this post was assigned to Zamindars or men of privileged classes. They worked as political agents of Government. Chowkidari tax was imposed according to the earning of a man. It varied from 6 annas to Rs.12/-. Nobody could keep a stick more than the height of Chowkidars stick which was Chowkidar's height. Next to Chowkidar was constable. Jamadar was above Munshi. Above him was Inspector. The people showed proper treatment generally to revenue collectors whether he was President or Gomastah of Zamindar.<sup>180</sup> During August, 1942 meetings took place against the British rule in different places around Eram. Those places included Suan, Sankharu, Barunda, Gud, Betada, Basudevpur, Brahmanigaon etc. In an interview with Sri Kamalakanta Kar<sup>181</sup> ring leader of Eram movement who had control over 28 villages, said that Anirudha Mohanty, Gouranga Mohanty, Ganesh Prasad Tripathy, Krushna Charan Paul were working vigorously to hold meetings to arouse public consciousness against the Government. The workers were called 'Maarana Sena' (do or die) and Marana Sena (do and die).

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<sup>179</sup> Interview with Kamalakanta Kar on 21st and 22nd March, 1986.

<sup>180</sup> Interview with Kamalakanta Kar on Eram Massacre on 21st and 22nd March 1986.

<sup>181</sup> B.C.S. Firing Incident File of 1942.

On 18.9.1942 in a meeting at Eram, Basudevpur Thana was declared 'Independent Banchhanidhi Chakla' (separated Zone). Headquarters of it remained in Eram. The area between Gamai river and Kanabans river and Bay of Bengal i.e. 13 to 15 miles in length and breadth was called Independent Banchhanidhi Chakla, named after the local poet by the people of the area. The Chakla run with a separate provisional local Government, having executive, legislative and judiciary authority.

The Chakla was divided into 8 zones. Such as Basudevpur (from Vairabpur to Sukadevpur), Chudamani (from Chudamani to Pare), Betada (from Guagson to Betada), Barandua (from Barendua to Chandrabhanapur), Brahmangson (Jaipada to Belsaunlia), Edtal (Edtal to Sugo) and from Misrapur to Talabandh), Beideipur (from Krushnapur to Kheampur), Karanjadia (from Rajghar to Balimunda). This Government had a jail and set of officers to run their provision<sup>182</sup> set up of Government.

The firing in Eram took place on 28.9.1942. The cause of the firing was drought that compelled the poor people to take away the paddy of Zamindar Radhakanta Padhi, D.S.P. Kunja Bihari Das had already reached Padhi's Kacheri (Collectorate). G.C. Fox was then Superintendent of Police at Balasore. Narayan Padhi was the President of the Chowkidars. Meeting was going on at 5.00 P.M. in Melan Field. National Flag<sup>183</sup> was unfurled. Kamalakanta Kar and Ganesh Prasad

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<sup>182</sup> B.C.S. Firing Incident File of 1942.

<sup>183</sup> Interview with Sri Bibekananda Mohanty, brother of poet Banchhanidhi Mohanty, Eram on 21.2.86 at 7.30 P.M.

Tripathy were Chief organisers. The Government reported that Kamala Kanta Kar had control over 25 villages between rivers Ganeil and Kansbans. There were 5,000 audience in the meeting. Ganesh Prasad Tripathy was delivering lecture in the meeting.

Then blowing of conchshell was the easiest and surest method to convey a message to nearby villages about the arrival of police or danger from Government side. Now by this time band of police force had crossed Ganeil river by ferry. This news spread to nearby villages through blowing of conchshells. When they came marching towards the meeting venue the people present got angry and snatched away the police uniforms and jumped over it, which irritated the police. This was informed to the D.S.P. Kunja Bihari Das<sup>184</sup> by Sulav Mahalik a Chowkidar. "D.S.P. was on the spot".<sup>185</sup> Officer incharge Hemendra Panigrahi executed the order.

Due to heavy shower the place was muddy. People could not disperse immediately. Kamalakanta Kar in an interview said: 18 persons died on the spot in the firing, 10 persons were grievously wounded who died in the villages. Other wounded persons died later on in Koraput jail. 223 persons were wounded. 2 cases were filed. 148 persons were arrested. The official report states that 26 persons died.<sup>186</sup> The injured

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<sup>184</sup> Eram Kahani, p.7.

<sup>185</sup> A.C.C.57; Collector to Rev. Commissioner, Orissa 9th October 1942, B.C.S. Firing Incident File of 1942, p.51; Sudhakar Dash, Swadhinatar Sangram Bhumi, pp.22-23.

<sup>186</sup> A.C.C.62, B.C.S. Firing Incident File 1942, p.51.

were 55. While visiting the spot in Eram the author came to know that the dead bodies were heaped on the branches of big tree which was buried later on. The whole area was a foul air for some days. In the burial place of such martyrs stands a memorial tomb today, which tells us their heroic deeds in the freedom movement.

The official report in the Eram firing case runs thus: "In these circumstances we are fully satisfied that there was ample justification for the order to fire in the first instance. Nor do we consider that the amount of firing was excessive". The D.S.P. "was of opinion that firing though heavy was not without justification".<sup>187</sup>

Those deceased were: Basudev Sahu, Ballav Behera, Brushi Behera, Hari Behera, Mani Behera, Krushna Wain, Kali Majhi, Bhua Majhi, Chintei Majhi, Radhu Mohalik, Kurup Behera, Gobiinda Rout, Upa Malik, Brundaban Panda, Puri Bawa, Mani Padhan, Nidhi Malik, Sankar Malik, Bhagaban Rout, Prasadi Das, Dibakar Panigrahi, and Bhalu Panigrahi.

Those injured were Ghonturu Dalai, Mago Mahalik, Ballav Das, Nandini Mandal, Bhaga Parida, Bhola Day, Banai Dutta, Bali Palai, Madan Palai, Madan Panda, Akhi Parida, Maghu Biswal, Bandhu Biswal, Jedai Behera, Budhi Das, Sanatan

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<sup>187</sup> A.C.C.57, Firing Incident File 1942, Eram Kahani.

Padhi, Hadi Majhi, Padhu Palai, Hera Day, Kanduru Prusty, Krushna Prusty, Upendra Biswal, Gangai Behera, Sapan Behera, Hadi Sahu, Kali Mahalik, Bhanu Biswal, Chemal Sahu, Krushna Das, Tila Ojha, Jati Sahu, Madhab Pati, Sama Sankhua, Chadhu Panda, Balaram Das, Bhim Behera, Sanei Behera, Ramakanta Biswal, Bhanu Mohapatra, Kali Sahu, Kangali Malik, Purna Das, Gobinda Bagdad, Kusa Tarai, Kasinath Das and Jira Behera.

Students movement continued in Balasore. The leaders were in jail. Naturally students took the lead. This was disclosed by Trilochan Senapati, a student of that time. Even after 1942 when the leaders were in jail, they also observed independence longed for January, 26 for which they were beaten mercilessly by police. Many were arrested and sent to jail for their secret expedition to Poona in 1943, when Gandhiji was in Poona jail. Even in 1945 when some of the leaders were released they hoisted Indian Flag near Durgadevi closed to Ramuna, for which they were immediately arrested. This was disclosed by L. Kamila, the freedom fighter.

#### Jail Life:

"In the Balasore jail the treatment was particularly bad. Beatings, assaults and insults were common things, on one occasion several young Satyagrahis were so brutally beaten that they became senseless.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, January 1930 - March, 1931, A.I.C.C. letters.

It was found from jail report that not only middle and poorer classes courted arrest and became prisoners, but also the school students became prisoners. The number of women Satyagrahis was few. From the same report, we find that Muslim and Christian prisoners numbered very few.<sup>189</sup> 630 persons were arrested in the district for C.D. move. The prisoners were either sent to jails in Balasore, Cuttack, Fulbani, Patana, Berhampur, Puri and the like. They were either allowed weekly, fortnightly or monthly time to write letters to their relatives. The jail could keep them inside its four walls but it could not suffocate them from ventilating their feeling for independence of their mother-land.

Of all the districts of Orissa, Balasore has played the most spectacular role in the nationalist movement, particularly in Civil Disobedience Movement and Quit India Movement. The Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi was next to that of Dandi, which was organised by Mahatma Gandhi himself. The participation of the common people in the Quit India Revolt of 1942 and their heroic sacrifice are well borne out by the killing of people in Lunia, Eram and Dhamnagar. The greater involvement of the Balasore people in the nationalist movement was due to higher percentage of literacy, proximity to a culturally and politically advanced province like Bengal, and the organising ability of leaders like Harekrushna Mahatab, Surendra Nath Das, Nilambar

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<sup>189</sup> Report of Satyagraha Movement in Utkal, January, 1930-March 1931, p.7., A.I.C.C. letters.

Das, Handakishore Das etc. With a glorious background of participation in the nationalist movement, Balasore district also has subsequently played a significant role in the politics of Orissa in post-independence era.

## CHAPTER - VII

### CONCLUSION

After having narrated the history of Balasore district in general and Balasore town in particular, it seems necessary at the end to identify the major forces and factors which have shaped the history of the area as well as the major trends during the course of its history. Being a part of the coastal belt, which has dominated the cultural and political life of Orissa, Balasore has all along played a significant role in the mainstream of Orissan history. Balasore has been profoundly affected by whatever development, political or cultural has taken place within Orissa and whatever influences have come from outside. One can find various sects of Hinduism among the Hindus who constitute the bulk of the population of the district. The establishment of Afghan and Moghul rule over Orissa had its imprint on the people and culture of Balasore. The Balasore town and district have a sizeable Muslim population. One can find mosques in different places of the district. During the two hundred years of Muslim rule Arabic and Persian words entered into the spoken language of the Oriyas of Balasore district.

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The coming of European traders of different nations - Portuguese, Dutch, Dane, French and English resulted in the influx of western culture and Christianity into the social life of the people of the district. While the traders carried on trade at the ports of Pipli and Balasore, the Christian missionaries carried on such activities as propagation of Christianity, spread of education and social reform. The existence of old churches in Balasore and Jaleswar reminds one of the missionary activities which had begun in the district from the later part of the eighteenth century.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Hindu kingdom of Orissa disappeared and Muslim rule was established over Orissa. The Muslim rule brought misfortunes to Orissa in several ways; heavy amounts of tributes went to the Muslim masters; outside elements dominated Orissa. In such a state of affairs enterprising European merchants came to Balasore. Balasore attracted early European traders because of its flourishing textile industry and its location at the mouth of the river Budhabalang. Pipli, situated at the mouth of the river Suvarnarekha was used as another port by the early European traders. The English established their factories in Balasore as well as Pipli. According to Khan-i-Duran, the Mughal subahdar of Orissa, Balasore was a centre of ship building.<sup>1</sup> Balasore developed into a thriving centre of maritime trade. In 1670,

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<sup>1</sup> M.N. Das, Ed., Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa, p.142, M.A. Haque, "Muslim Rule in Orissa."

of several factories in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Balasore was the seat of their chief and his council.<sup>2</sup> Balasore and Pipli, writes the British historian W.W. Hunter "formed the basis of our future greatness in Bengal".<sup>3</sup>

The English continued their trade at Balasore up to the middle of eighteenth century. The interference by the Moghuls and Marathas constituted a great hindrance to the British trade at Balasore. These Indian authorities wanted some concession from the English traders while English traders insisted on carrying on duty-free trade. The ultimate abandonment of the Balasore port by the English was due to the Maratha inroads, deposit of silt at the mouth of the river Budhabalang, and growing importance of Calcutta port. The textile industry of Balasore suffered a tremendous set-back owing to the cessation of English trading activities at Balasore. Throughout the period of Maratha misrule (1751 - 1803), due to the general dislocation of trade and industry caused by the Maratha raids and the cessation of English import, the cotton industry of Balasore languished. The dawn of the nineteenth century saw the end of Maratha misrule and the introduction of Pax Britannica. But the once-flourishing cotton industry could not be revived any more, because by that time the British commercial policy

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<sup>2</sup> Charles Fawcett, the English Factories in India, Vol.II, p.325.

<sup>3</sup> W.W. Hunter, Orissa, Vol.II, pp. 37-8.

in India had undergone a fundamental change to the detriment of the indigenous industry. The industrial revolution of England which had first begun in textile industry in the middle of the eighteenth century brought about such a revolutionary progress in that industry that by the close of the eighteenth century, the English vigorously felt the necessity of de-industrialising India to facilitate the marketability of the British machine-made cotton goods. Consequently the establishment of British rule hastened the decline of cotton industry at Balasore. In 1822, A Stirling made the following observation on the condition of textile industry in Orissa in general and Balasore in particular: "A sufficiency of coarser cloth is made for the use of the inhabitants in all parts of the district (Balasore). The Calicoes of Balasore, Soro, Bhadrak, Janjipur and Hariharpur were once much prized and sought after the name of Sannah, but the demand for the finer fabrics of that description having long since declined the quality now manufactured is very trifling".<sup>4</sup> ✓

From 1740, the Marathas (The Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur) again and again invaded and plundered various areas of Bengal and Orissa. Consequently Balasore became a cockpit of fight between the Nawab of Bengal and Bhonslas. In 1751, Maratha rule was established in Orissa. In 1765 Lord Clive got the grant of diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Moghul emperor

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<sup>4</sup> A. Stirling, An Account Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, 1822, p.21.

Shah Alam. The Orissa of the said grant was nothing more than the single district of Midnapore (which is now the border district of West Bengal). Hereafter, Balasore permanently became the border district of Orissa.

The defeat of Marathas and establishment of British rule in Orissa in 1803 ushered in a new era in the history of Balasore. But before the Oriyas could reap some beneficent results of the British rule, they had to suffer from economic ruin because of the colonial master's policy. The British land revenue policy and salt policy broke the economic backbone of the people of Orissa. The British did not introduce Permanent Settlement in Orissa. They introduced temporary settlements and showed no consideration for the Oriya Zamindars and land-holders in the matter of revenue collection. Consequently, many Oriya Zamindars, because of their ignorance of British regulations lost their estates, which were purchased by the Bengali speculators. Not only many Bengali speculators became land-holders in Orissa, but also many Bengalis entered into the bureaucratic set-up in Orissa. In the nineteenth century, the administration and public life of the Balasore district are preponderantly dominated by Bengalis. While many native proprietors lost their estates because of the temporary settlement, the common peasants suffered a lot because of frequent assessment and over-assessment of revenue.

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Another economic ruin the British Government caused to the people of Coastal Orissa in general and Balasore district in particular was the establishment of monopoly over salt manufacture and salt trade. From the time immemorial, thousands of people in the district had been making significant additions to their livelihood by manufacturing salt. The salt monopoly, introduction of salt tax and importation of Liverpool salt irretrievably damaged this industry, which was a poor man's means of earning livelihood. In spite of the restrictive salt laws here and there the people manufactured salt illegally and finally launched Salt Satyagraha in 1930 at Inchudi and other places in the Balasore sea shore at the call of Mahatma Gandhi.

Being practically an appendage to the Bengal presidency, and ruled by the strange foreigners and non-Oriya (Bengali) bureaucrats, Orissa had virtually been neglected by the British administration during the major part of the nineteenth century. The famine of 1866 thoroughly exposed the negligence of Orissa by the British bureaucracy. Greater attention was paid by the Government to the construction of roads and canals in the post-famine period. In the Balasore district communication was improved by the opening of a port at Dhamra which was located at the mouth of the Vaitarani river. The Government constructed a coast canal connecting the river Hooghly with the river Matai near Dhamra.

In the post-famine period, as a result of the growth of education and press a class of intelligentsia grew in Orissa. Associations and Clubs were formed. The Cuttack and Balasore towns were the two main centres of socio-political consciousness in the nineteenth century Orissa. While Gouri Shankar Roy was the pioneer of that consciousness in Cuttack, Fakir Mohan Senapati was the pioneer at Balasore. The principal object of this emerging socio-political consciousness was to safeguard and promote the Oriya language and Oriya interests.

But the nascent Oriya elite found itself confronted with the hostility of a powerful section of the Bengalis, who were domiciled in Orissa and had been dominating the public life and administration in Orissa since the establishment of British rule. The hostile Bengali elements challenged the separate identity of Oriyas as a linguistic-cum-cultural group and contrived to abolish Oriya language from the schools of Orissa. Fakir Mohan Senapati and his followers boldly faced this challenge. Consequently there was an acute Oriya-Bengali quarrel in Balasore. Out of that quarrel, the linguistic nationalism grew among the Oriyas. Nivedita Mohanty sums up the results of the language controversy in the following words:

"The language agitation in Orissa opened up a new epoch in its history. With the linguistic nationalism beginning to blossom the educated people started exploring other possibilities to bolster up their stand. The necessary outcome of the spirit of liberation has been the active press and the formation of intellectual societies."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Nivedita Mohanty, Oriya Nationalism, p.24.

Fakir Mohan Senapati was not only the father of modern Oriya prose but also, in a sense, of the linguistic nationalism in Orissa.

The Oriya-Bengali language controversy quietened with the passage of time for several reasons. First, all Bengalis were not opposed to the cause of Oriya nationalism; there were some domiciled Bengalis such as Raja Shyamananda De and Raja Baikuntha Nath De of Balasore, and Gouri Shankar Roy of Cuttack who espoused the cause of Oriyas. Baikuntha Nath De was the first citizen of Orissa to submit a memorandum to the British authorities for the amalgamation of the Oriya tracts. He also played an important role in the Utkal Sammilani in its initial phase. The poet Radhanath Rai, a domiciled Bengali inhabitant of Soro in the Balasore district turned out to be the father of modern Oriya poetry. Secondly, linguistically and culturally there was a lot of affinity between Bengalis and Oriyas; the Bengali literature and socio-religious movements had considerable impact on the educated classes of Orissa, particularly of Balasore. In the nineteenth century the Brahmo preachers were coming from Bengal to Balasore and Cuttack to propagate their doctrine. The spirit of militant nationalism, which emerged in Bengal by the beginning of the twentieth century also captivated the imagination of the people in Orissa. Thirdly, the growth of Indian nationalism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century united the Bengalis and Oriyas in a common platform. In the Balasore town the Balasore National Society was formed to promote the growth

of all-India nationalism. Initially the Balasore National Society appears to have been dominated by the Bengalis. But subsequently, Oriyas as well as Bengalis attended the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress on behalf of the Balasore National Society. Today the Oriyas as well as Bengalis live in complete harmony in Balasore district and many educated Oriyas of Balasore have great fascination for Bengali culture, literature and films.

The geographical contiguity of Balasore to the province of Bengal, which played a pioneering role in the growth of national consciousness in modern India has been an important factor for the growth of national consciousness in the Balasore district. The interaction with Bengal became closer towards the end of nineteenth century because of the opening of railways. Large number of people, educated as well as uneducated could easily go to Calcutta which was the metropolis of the British India Indian empire till 1911 and has all along played a conspicuous role in the political and cultural life of the country as a whole.

During the Gandhian era of the Indian nationalist movement the Balasore district played an important role in respect of leadership as well as mass mobilization. Balasore district Congress Committee was organised in 1921 as part of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee. The Balasore district provided such important leaders of Orissa Congress as Harekrushna Mahtab (the first Prime Minister of Orissa in post-independence era, and a Cabinet Minister in the Cabinet formed



by Jawaharlal Nehru after the first general election), Mukunda Prasad Das (the first Speaker of Orissa Legislative Assembly after the first election, held under the Government of India Act, 1935) and Nanda Kishore Das, the first Speaker of Orissa Legislative Assembly after independence. H. K. Mahtab and Nanda Kishore Das have played active roles in the organisational activities of the Orissa Congress during as well as after the freedom struggle. At the grass root level the Balasore district provided such active Congress organisers like Surendra Nath Das (who earned for himself the epithet of Sardar, meaning leader by organising the people for the Inchudi Salt Satyagraha) and Nilambar Das. The Balasore town became an important centre of the Congress activities in Orissa during the freedom struggle. Two nationalist periodicals, such as Prajanetra and Adventure were being brought out from the Balasore town. The Suraj Mandir of Balasore, the district Congress headquarter trained the Congressmen for the implementation of the Congress programme.

In 1930, Inchudi, a place on Balasore sea shore was the main centre of Salt Satyagraha in Orissa. Besides Inchudi, there were twenty salt satyagraha centres in the Balasore district. In keeping with the long tradition of the salt manufacture in the district thousands of common people participated in the salt satyagraha. Even hundreds of house-wives came out of their seclusion to take part in the salt satyagraha. From the standpoint of the mass involvement, in the official report, the Inchudi Salt Satyagraha was reckoned as second

in the whole country, while the Dandi satyagraha, organised by Mahatma Gandhi himself, was considered to be the first.<sup>6</sup>

During the Quit India Movement of 1942, when the leaders were in jail, in such places of the district as Eram, Dhamnagar, Lunia, and Bhandari Pokhari, thousands of common people participated in the anti-British demonstrations. The massacre of 29 people in a public meeting in the Eram village by the police during this movement is a clear evidence of the courageous spirit the common people had exhibited during the movement. The tragedy of Eram may be compared with that of Jalianawalla Bagh.

Socially, culturally and politically, Balasore has been an advanced district of Orissa. The percentage of literacy in this district has been one of the highest in Orissa. Before and after independence Balasore has played a prominent role in the socio-political life of the province. Being integrally connected with the mainstream of social, cultural and political life of the whole country the people of the Balasore district are liberal, broad-minded and tolerant in their outlook. Economically Balasore remained a backward district at the time of India's independence, because the old textile and salt industry had been irretrievably ruined long back, no modern industry had developed and the agriculture always remained subject to such natural calamities as flood, drought and cyclone. In 1942-3, the economic life of the people of North Balasore was terribly ruined by a devastating cyclone, and a heavy flood in the Suvarnarekha river. The natural calamities dampen the spirit

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<sup>6</sup> Sadbanar Patba, p.129.

of people from time to time, because a heavy flood or drought may spell a poor harvest, and a cyclone may mean a total dislocation in the economic life. Nevertheless the people are socially and culturally active and optimistic in their attitude to life. The dawn of freedom has meant to them the dawn of a new life.

...



रघूजी]

[पृ. २०५]

Raghuji Bhonsle



जानोजी भोंसले, मनासाहेब मुना ]

[ पृ. ११६ ]

Janoji Bhonsle



presented to Mrs. Lloyd with the same  
-not ill-gotten-

উড়িয়া সত্ত্ব ভাষা নহে।

বালেশ্বর গবেষণা কেন্দ্র

ମୁଦ୍ରା

শ্রীযুତ  
কাହିନ୍ଦ্র  
ভট্টাচার্য

॥

ଅବସ୍ଥା

बुधनापुर, अंगर सरकिउलाइ डोटि,

१७ : ६ मङ्गल कृत

ପି।ସି।-ବିଲ୍‌ମାଡ୍ରୁ ସମେତ

ସୂଚିତ ।

१०५७ अ० । प्रतः ३२९१ । पृष्ठ ४८

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Oriya Ekta Swatantra Bhasa Naye

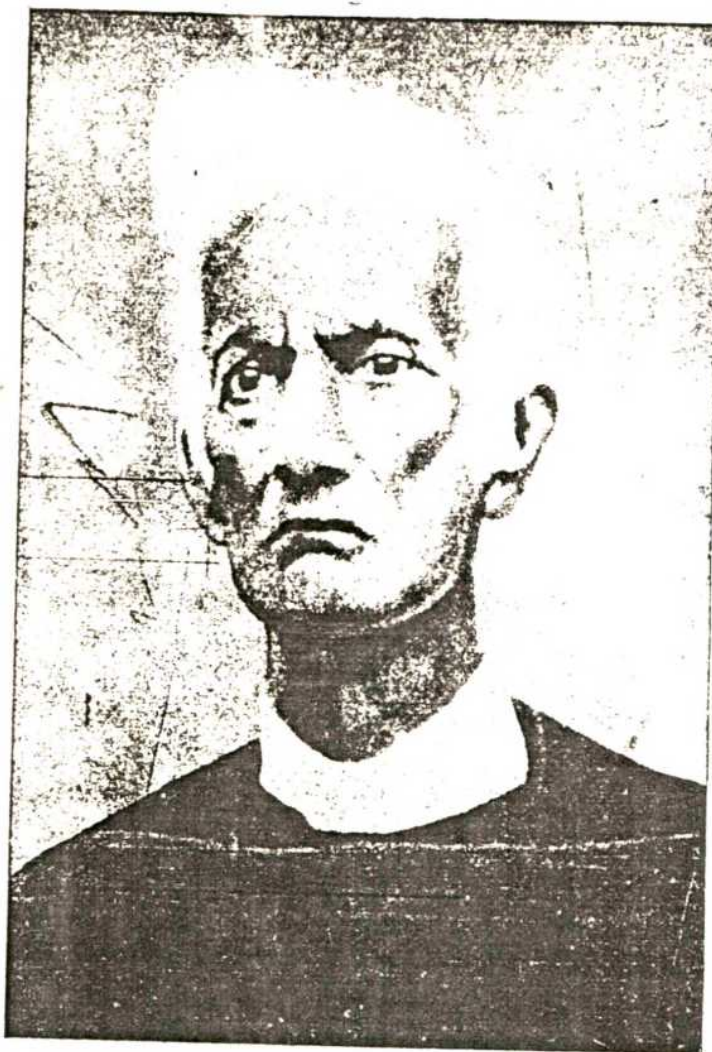
二、五、五

উড়িয়ার এবং জাঁর বাদ্যনা তাঁরা অংশিত নাই :  
কি বিদ্যালয়, কি আদালত সর্বত্র উৎসব ভাবা সিন্ধিত  
ও কথিত হয়। গবর্নমেন্ট বিদ্যালয় সকলের সংস্থাপন  
অগরি এই সমস্ত বাদ্যনা ভাবাই প্রচলিত ছিল। সম্প্রতি  
মানবর কনিষকর সাহেবের বিজ্ঞাপনী অনুসারে বাদ্যনা  
উৎসর্গ গিয়া উড়ি়া ভাবা অংশিত হইয়াছে। অ্রুত  
কনিষকর ও কতগুলি নিষকরী সাহেবদের মন  
উড়ি়াকে স্বতন্ত্র ভাবা বলিয়া প্রতীতি ভাবিয়াছে।  
যখন তাঁহারা এতল স্থির করিয়াছেন যে উড়িয়া এক  
স্বতন্ত্র ভাবা, এবং যখন বাগ্মনা পুস্তক সকল উড়িয়ার  
পাঠশালা হইতে নিষ্কাশিত হইতেছে, তখন অনেকেই  
সন্দেহ করিতেছেন, উড়িয়াই বুদ্ধিউড়িয়ার প্রচলিত  
যাকিল। কিন্তু আমার ক্ষুদ্র বুদ্ধিতে উড়িয়াকে স্বতন্ত্র  
ভাবা বলিয়া প্রতীতি হয় না; এবং যতই অনুসন্ধান  
করিতেছি ততই এই সংস্কারের ঘূর্তীন্দ্রনই হইতেছে।  
সত্যের অপলংপ হয় ইহা ইচ্ছা করি না। এতনা  
আমি পরিচয় করিয়া এই ক্ষুদ্র পুস্তক ধানি প্রণয়ন  
করিলাম। সহস্রের তত্ত্বদর্শী মহোদয়গণ অনুকম্পা  
প্রকাশিয়া ইহা আনন্দ্যাপাত্ত পাঠ করিয়া দেখিবেন :  
উড়িয়া স্বতন্ত্র ভাবা নহে। ইহা বাঙ্গালাই। ইহাভেদ  
মনে এইরূপ প্রতীতি হইলে, এমন সকল জ্ঞান করিব।

(9)

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Dyer





ବ୍ୟାସଙ୍କ ଫକୀରମୋହନ ସେନାପତି

ଆବିର୍ଭାବ-୧୮୪୩ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ ଜାନୁଆରୀ ୧୩ ତାରିଖ

ତିରୋଭାବ-୧୯୧୮ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ ଜୁନ୍ ୧୪ ତାରିଖ

Famir Mohan Senapati





କବିର ରାଧାନାଥ ରାୟ

ଜନ୍ମ-୧୮୪୮ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ ସେପ୍ଟେମ୍ବର ୨୮ ତାରିଖ  
 ଚିତ୍ତେଇପା-୧୯୦୮ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ ଏପ୍ରିଲ ୧୨ ତାରିଖ

Radhanath Ray



ଦେଶ-ହିତେଷା ବନ୍ଧୁ ଜନ ବୀନୟ  
 ବାଲେଶ୍ଵର ପୂର୍ବତନ କଲେକ୍ଟର  
 ଆବିର୍ଭାବ-୧୮୩୭ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ, ତିରୋତର-୧୯୦୨ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ

John Beams



ରାଜା ବୈକୁଣ୍ଠନାଥ ଦେ

ଆବିର୍ଭାବ-୧୮୫୨ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ, ଚିତ୍ତେଇବ-୧୯୧୩ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦ

Baikuntha Nath De

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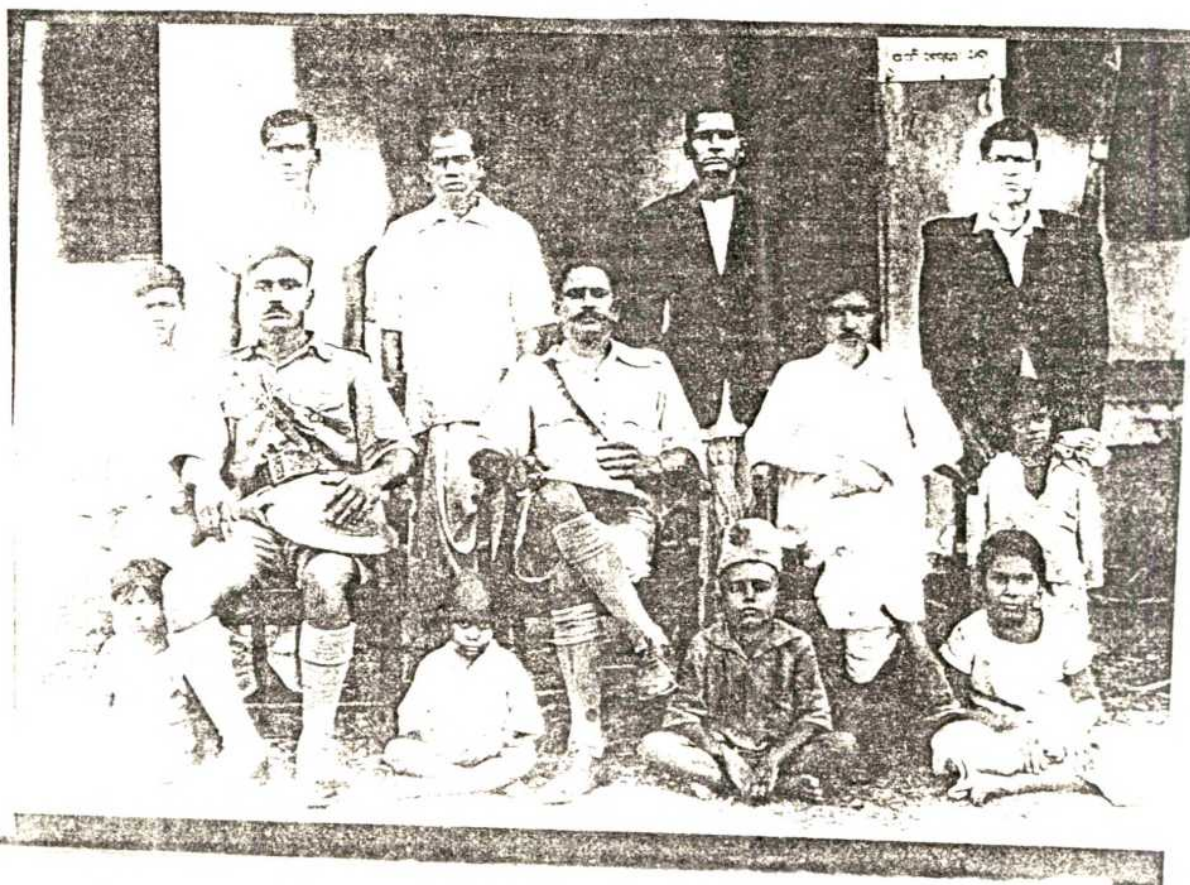


SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE  
SECOND FROM RIGHT

Netaji (sitting third from left)

Ref. P. 316





From left (Narayan Chandra Bhattacharjya  
Sitting outgoing

(2) Md. Yakub (Incharge Officer Police)

(3) Padmalochan Bindhani, Teacher,  
French Loge U.P.School, 1940.

G L O S S A R Y

Abwab	Cesses and charges levied by the Zamindars illegally besides the regular assessment on the land.
Adalat	A Court of Justice.
Anil	An Officer of Government in the Revenue Department.
Amin	A native Surveyor of land.
Amala	A native Officer of Judiciary.
Aurang	A Salt manufacturing area.
Barkandaz	A guard or escort.
Dazar	Market.
Elgha	A measure of land, approximately $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre.
Chakla	A large division of a province comprehending a number of Parganas.
Chowdhury	Holder of landed property.
Chowkey	A guard to watch the property.
Chowkidar	A village watchman.
Chulha	A fire place for boiling brine.
Cutchery	Area consisting of Courts and Government offices.
Daffadar	The head of village watchman.
Darogah	An Officer of Police or Custom or Excise.
Diwani Adalat	Civil Court.

Faujdar	An Officer of the Mughal and Maratha Governments who was incharge of Police and managed criminal matters.
Faujdar Adalat	Criminal Court.
Ganja	A kind of intoxicating drug prepared from the hemp plant.
Garjat	Tributary States of Orissa.
Ghat	A landing place on the bank of river.
Gola	Godowns.
Gunj	Area for market and Godowns.
Gumashta	Manager of a Zamindar.
Guru	A teacher in the Pathsala or Primary School.
Hastabud	A comparative statement of present and past produce of an estate.
Jama	The total amount of rent or revenue payable either by a tenant or a Zamindar.
Jamadar	An Officer of Police.
Kanungo	A revenue officer.
Kauri	Shell of small gastropod found in Indian Ocean used as money.
Khas	A revenue term, applicable while in collection of revenue by Officers without any intermediary arrangements between them and the cultivators.
Killa	A Fort.
Kisti	Instalment.
Kurkutch	Salt available by Solar evaporation.
Lakh, Lac	1,00,000 (one hundred thousand).
Mahalla	A Ward in a town area.
Malangi	Producer of Salt.
Mauza	Village or Group of villages.

Mofassil	The village.
Mughalbandi	A long strip of cultivable land in between hill tracts and sea.
Muharrir	A clerk.
Mukaddam	Headman of a village.
Munshi	Writer.
Nala	Rivulet.
Ninki Mahal	Salt producing tracts.
Pandit	A teacher in Primary School also a Sanskrit teacher.
Pahi-kasht	Temporary lease-hold tenure of lower rate rent.
Panga	Salt manufactured by boiling the brine.
Pargana	Area comprising a number of villages.
Patana	Area of rehabilitation, big area.
Pathasala	A native Primary School.
Peshkash	A fine or present to the ruling authority on receiving an appointment.
Purdah	Veil.
Raja	The king.
Rani	The queen.
Rewanah	A passport or a certificate by the Collector allowing commodities to pass without any payment or extra duty.
Sahi	A part of the village.
Samiti	An association.
Sammillani	A conference.
Senad	A grant, a charter or a document stating the privileges, titles under the seal of ruling authority.



Sarkar	A Chief.
Satyagraha	Non-violent method of resistance.
Sarasta	A department of Revenue.
Shroffe	Money changers.
Sicca	A stamped coin, designation of the silver currency during the time of Mughals, accepted by the Indian Princes and the East India Company.
Subah	Province.
Subadar	The Governor of a province, a Viceroy under the Mughal and Maratha Regime.
Swadeshi	Made in one's own country, indigenous product.
Swaraj	Self-government.
Tahosildar	Collector of Revenue.
Taluk	An estate.
Thani	Resident.
Tol	A school where Sanskrit is taught.
Umlee	An era current in Orissa, Commencing between 27 August and 26 September.
Villo	Small Unit of a village.
Zanana	A lady.
Zilla	A District.

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D. National Archives:

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F. Archaeological Evidence:

Tombs of Englishman, Dutch in Balasore town  
near Barabati.

Remains of ships in Dinamardinga, Olandazsahi.

Big Anchors of the ships found on the bank  
of Budhabalang.

Big Buoys near the bank of Budhabalang  
and Subarnarekha.

Lal Ginja (Church) now Red Cross Office backside of Collector's Residence.

Marble plate "Sri Sri Haribhakti Pradayini in Bengalee ~~1885~~ 1885 on the gate of a temple near Mandal's house in Barabati.

Memorial Tomb in Inchudi - 1930 Salt Movement  
Memorial tomb in Eram for the Martyrs of 1942.

Plate of French loge U.P.School of Pre-Independence in Old Balasore.

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 Bholanath Dash, Srijang (Age 83)  
 Bhairab Chandra Mohapatra, Balasore (Age 89 )  
 Bijay Kumar Giri, Balasore (Age 60 )  
 Gouri Devi, W/o Sardar Surendra Nath  
 Das, Balasore (Age 60)  
 Kamalakanta Kar, Eram, Balasore Age (65)  
 Late Laxman Kamila, Remuna, Balasore (Age 88)  
 Muralidhar Panda, Sahcednagar, Bhadrak (Age 75)  
 Late Nanda Kishore Das, Soro, Balasore (Age 100)  
 Late Nilambar Das, Soro, Balasore (Age 88)  
 Padma Lochan Bindhari, French, Balasore (Age 75)  
 (Farashi Dinga or French Enclave)  
 Priyanath Sarkar, Balasore (Age 84 )  
 Trilochon Senapati, Balasore (Age 76)  
 Vivekananda Mohanty, brother of Banchnidhi  
 Mohanty, Post of Eram, Balasore (Age 76 ).  
 Power Miss - Mission Girls' High School  
 on Christianity  
 Surabhi Sahu     I Retd. Inspector of Schools  
                      I on Christianity  
 Raghunath Giri   I  
 Sukumar Sahu     I  
                      I Brahmo (Age 88 )  
 Nirmal Bardhan   I

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Prof. Dr. B.C. Ray.

G. C. Dey.

Prof. Natabar Samantaray.

Late Paramananda Acharjya (Baripada residence).

Late Surya Narayan Das (in Nanda Deula near

R. N. Training College).

Ramkrishna Das (Age 81 ).

Bijay Mandi (Age 90 ) (Bengali Weaver in Makalpur).

Miss Sneha Naik (Age 85) ( Sister of Aliss (bedridden)

Mirmala Naik.

Monoranjan Panda.

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